The Outlook

AUGUST 16, 1916

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During the Presidential campaign The Outlook will give the significant news concerning the course of political events. It will endeavor to interpret that news. But this is not all. It will publish from time to time articles from the Democratic and the Republican points of view by special writers.

In accord with this, there is printed in this issue a strong and persuasive statement by Professor Souby in advocacy of the Democratic party and its chief, President Wilson. Next week we shall print a striking article in support of President Wilson by the authority on finance, well known to our readers, Mr. Theodore H. Price.

Professor Souby's article treats the subject in a broadly historical and philosophical spirit; Mr. Price's article is eminently practical and specific.

The Republican point of view will be ably presented in early issues of The Outlook in two articles by Mr. Frederick M. Davenport. Our readers will remember his notable series of articles on "Progress and Reaction in the West," printed a year ago, in which he made observations abundantly confirmed by the course of events since then, and also his equally notable articles on the "Pre-Nomination Campaign." Mr. Davenport is now traveling with Mr. Hughes through the West as representative of The Outlook. From Detroit, where Mr. Hughes made his first important speech of the trip, Mr. Davenport telegraphed us as follows:

"Hughes at Detroit made a day of fine human interest before welfare workers, women, and many thousands of workingmen. A great mass-meeting at night. He is beaming, jubilant, and is getting back into his old New York stride. He has created a favorable impression on the man on the street, who is impressed with his vigor, firmness, and sense of right, and believes he is the sort who will put it through."

Mr. Davenport will send us two articles—one on Mr. Hughes as a campaigner, and on his views and policies as they are revealed in the course of his speeches; the other on the people that Mr. Hughes meets and their response to his speeches and his personality. No man could be better fitted for this particular service than Mr. Davenport. His entrance into public life was in association with Mr. Hughes as Governor; and his practical experience then secured in the New York Senate has been supplemented by his campaigns as candidate for Lieutenant-Governor and for Governor of New York on the Progressive ticket in 1912 and 1914, respectively, and his wide opportunities for observation and study of political affairs in connection with his writing for The Outlook.

THE STORY OF THE WAR

One of the most interesting reports of the week (August 2–9) is that which comes from Athens through London. It is to the effect that Bulgaria now realizes that it committed a terrible error in following Germany's suggestion that Bulgaria should occupy southern Macedonia, and thus expose itself to probable attack from the strong armies of British, French, and Servians now in Greece—put by some observers at 680,000. A Bulgarian political leader is quoted as saying that Bulgaria ought now to lay down its arms. Much surprise has been expressed that the Allied forces in Greece have not yet taken the offensive; possibly the reason is the belief that Bulgaria will yield without fighting.

Another report from the more distant field of war is that of the second attack by Turks on the Suez Canal. According to British despatches, the Turks have exactly repeated their fiasco of last February; even the same number of men—14,000—is given as the Turkish force. Looked at from a distance, the attempt seems as wild as the former attack—and, it may be added, as brave. Again the Turkish force crossed the pitiless desert, dragging their guns through the sand, suffer-

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ing from terrible heat and from lack of water. Again their attack, which was made in the Katia district, was repelled with enormous loss, probably a fourth of the whole force, and the Turks were driven back into the desert to suffer as they did before in their retreat. The Suez Canal is evidently well guarded; tempting as it is to Turkish attack, the natural difficulties of such an assault are insuperable.

The Russian offensive continues impressive. Here the operations are on a big scale and over a large field; one does not read of gains of a few hundred yards over two or three miles front, as on the western line, but of big strategic movements on large fronts. Armies are approaching Lemberg from the south, where the Russian line of advance since Czernowitz was taken has been through Kolomea and then north to Stanislau, now under Russian attack; from the east, moving from Brody, the capture of which we have recorded; and from the northeast by the forces which started at Lutzk. The German army under General von Bothmer in defending Lemberg is hard pressed and will probably have to retire back of the line of the river Bug, while northward the Russian forces are over the river Stokhod and threaten Kovel. Everywhere the Russians are seizing villages and reporting large captures of prisoners; a sample report is that in the battles of August 5 and 6, on the Sereth River, 8,500 men and 166 officers were captured and six villages were taken. General von Hindenburg's offensive against the Russians in the Riga-Dwinsk line has not been sensational, as was expected. General von Hindenburg, it is reported, has been placed in command of all the armies in the Russian campaign.

In the Anglo-French offensive progress is making, although slowly. Why it is slow—as it might seem to those who only noted that from Pozières, occupied by the British some time ago, to their main objective, Bapaume, there is a perfectly straight road about eight miles long—is shown in the news of August 7. Between the two places and near Pozières are hills which were strongly fortified and desperately held by the Germans. The British attacked these again and again, and have finally occupied them, although the fighting is still going on. The Australians did especially good service in this important action.

At Verdun the French are still on the offensive. They captured all or most of the positions at Thiaumont and Fleury, and while the Germans have made some gains in counter-attacks their losses have been terrible. Thiaumont before the attack was not even a village, but only a farm, yet it has seen some of the worst and bloodiest fighting of the war. A Paris despatch points out that it has changed hands six times, and alleges that in taking it a month ago the Germans sacrificed 36,000 men, and that in losing it lately they sacrificed probably as many.

The week saw one more new offensive—and a most successful one. The Italian army delivered what the despatches described as smashing blows on the Isonzo front. This, it will be remembered, is their line of advance which aims ultimately at Trieste. To advance on Trieste they first had to take Gorizia, defended by a formidable plateau and high hills. Last week the Italians seized the bridge-head at Gorizia and two commanding hills, and took in two days ten thousand prisoners, and on August 9 came the news that the Italian flag was flying on Gorizia's citadel and that the Austrians were in full retreat.

Sir Roger Casement suffered the penalty of high treason by hanging in London on August 3. In insisting on his execution the British Government acted wholly in accord with law; but it has been gravely questioned, by eminent and responsible Englishmen as well as by others, whether it would not have been the part of higher wisdom for it to have treated Casement as mentally unbalanced.

MR. HUGHES AND HIS CAMPAIGN

In his campaign for the Presidency Mr. Hughes has now appeared before the people of Detroit and Chicago, and, if we are to judge from the personal comments which have reached us and from the newspaper account of his two speeches, the Republican candidate has made a much stronger and more vivid impression upon his hearers than has been perhaps expected. His addresses, both in Detroit and Chicago, were effectively delivered and full of vigor and human interest.

In Detroit Mr. Hughes, in his formal address, repeated much of his criticism of the Wilson Administration contained in the speech of acceptance reported in last week's issue of The Outlook. In another address he paid a striking tribute to the welfare workers of Detroit, and defined his attitude towards labor in concise terms:

> The human factor is, after all, the important factor. You may develop your physical plants, your physical instrumentalities, everything that

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goes to make up the material side of prosperity, but you are absolutely helpless without the human factor. That is why the man who is working for a living must be made to feel that the country is doing the right thing by him. It is perfectly idle to say that under our industrial conditions a man may take or reject employment. He cannot starve and he cannot refuse a job. It is for us to make working conditions safe, and to see that the pay of the man who works is a fair proportion of the fruits of his toil.

Later in the day Mr. Hughes complied with the one unalterable tradition which has apparently become the foundation of every political candidacy. In other words, it needs hardly to be explained, Mr. Hughes attended a professional ball game, and did his part in rooting for the great National fetish. Apparently, moreover, this was not a pure formality on his part, for he is reported as remarking when a home run had been made, "If that is the kind of ball they play here, I am going to stay, and cut out the remainder of the programme."

If Mr. Hughes's most interesting remarks in Detroit were made upon the subject of social justice, his most direct appeal to the public in Chicago, made in the Coliseum, where he was nominated, was made on the ground of scientific efficiency in government. Mr. Hughes's record while the executive head of New York State gave a background and a peculiar emphasis to his remarks as to the appointment of partisans to political offices:

One of the very serious charges which must be laid against the present Administration is the charge of putting incompetent men into important positions. That is not for the benefit of democracy, and I now, in this place where I was nominated, without any regard to political future, say this: That if I am elected President of the United States I propose that every man that I put in charge of an important department shall be a man eminently fit to discharge the duties of that department.

I propose that in diplomatic service training shall count for something. I propose that when a man goes from this country to represent the great American people in another nation—and I do not care whether it is a small nation or a big nation, for we want our influence in small and great—I propose that that man shall be a worthy representative to whom the people whom he is accredited to will look with respect and esteem, seeing the efficiency of the great United States.

Concerning the practice of log-rolling for appropriations Mr. Hughes said:

I don't care, if I am elected President, what becomes of my personal political fortunes. I propose that we shall have government in a businesslike way. We won't have any more, if I can stop it, of these "kiss me and I'll kiss you" appropriations in Congress. . . . I am glad that the Republican platform put forth a keynote when it demanded a businesslike, responsible budget, and if I am elected President I propose to see, so far as executive authority will permit, that we get rid of this travesty of administration and have a businesslike budget by which we can understand what we ought to pay, what our comparative needs are, what our income is to satisfy them, and by which responsible administration can be secured.

In later issues of The Outlook Mr. Hughes's campaign will be followed with added detail.

THE DIVISION OF THE PROGRESSIVE VOTE

The division of the Progressive vote between the two old parties seems to be quite as contentious a subject as the division of the child whose ownership King Solomon was called upon to determine. In the present case it also appears that the final decision will rest chiefly upon the determination of the true mother of the party in dispute.

No one denies that the bulk of the Progressive party came from the Republican ranks. No one denies that in National questions the political philosophy of the Progressive party represented a development of, rather than a break from, Republican tradition. Those who came to the Progressive party from the Democratic party were, in most cases, attracted by the programme for social justice, a programme which obscured in their eyes the division between the policy of Nationalism and the traditional Democratic tendency towards a decentralized Government. It is natural and to be expected that with the disruption of the Progressive party many of those who represented the demand for social justice without emphasis upon the necessity for National action should return to their former Democratic allegiance; but it is also to be expected that those who recognize the fact that social justice can be secured throughout the Nation only through the medium of the National Government should turn their support to the candidacy of Mr. Hughes.

So far as we have been able to observe, this theory of division has been borne out by the facts and the developments of the past few weeks. Every indication points to the expectation that the rank and file of the Pro-

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gressive party is back under the Republican banner. The list of important Progressives who have given their support to Mr. Wilson, as reported by the Democratic chairman, Mr. Vance C. McCormick, is not particularly impressive. The most important figure upon the list is Francis J. Heney, of California. Mr. Heney is a valuable recruit for the Democratic standard-bearer. In New York Mr. Bainbridge Colby is to be found on the list, and also Michael Schaap, an ex-Assemblyman of vigorous personality, has turned to Mr. Wilson; and in Massachusetts Matthew Hale has stated his intention of doing all that he can to re-elect the President. It was hoped by the Democrats that the name of Raymond Robins, of Illinois, might be added to their list, but his recent announcement has served to dispel all such expectations. Mr. Robins was Chairman of the Progressive National Convention at Chicago, and is one of the most conspicuous Progressives in the country.

RAYMOND ROBINS AND THE PROGRESSIVES

Mr. Robins's statement of his faith is so typical of the attitude of the majority of Progressives that we quote from it at some length:

In 1914 we had a real test of the Progressive voters of 1912 and the willingness of the American people to use a new party in the practical solution of the problems of our political life. Generally throughout the Nation the Progressive candidates—embracing its most gifted leaders and all generously supported by Colonel Roosevelt, and, as a rule, fairly treated by the daily press—ran a bad third. Nearly three-fourths of the Progressive voters of 1912 refused to support the Progressive candidates in 1914....

While I had hoped against hope that the extraordinary events in this epochal hour might overrule the verdict of the voters, and under the leadership of Colonel Roosevelt the Progressive party might yet dominate the situation, nevertheless, when the Progressive Convention had adjourned and the entire situation was considered it was manifest that the end which the voters had decreed had come—that the Progressive party was dead.

The National conscience, now aroused, must be made effective. It must develop a National mind that will comprehend our social, industrial, and military unpreparedness. It must appreciate the domestic injury and National danger that lie in our lack of a definite foreign policy. It must realize that we will be as unprepared for peace as we are unprepared for war. The supreme need in American political life is leadership supported by a voting rank and file that will organize and maintain an adequate social, industrial, and military preparedness, together with a comprehensive foreign policy. . . .

The present leader of the Republican party won his reputation as the progressive Republican Governor of New York. He there proved himself completely independent of all boss control and demonstrated that he will take advice from many but dictation from none. His words have been made good by deeds. His leadership is the fruit of the Progressive movement in American politics. His nomination was not two hours old when the most resourceful general of the "Old Guard" was dropped overboard into political oblivion. The forced retirement of William Barnes, Jr., was the "high sign" to all who wish to know and understand that the control of the Republican party had passed forever from the "Old Guard" of 1912. Mr. Hughes's recognition of the Progressives in the appointment of his campaign committee is a guarantee of the good faith in which he appeals for Progressive support.

We believe that Mr. Robins is correct both in his estimate of the Progressive party and in his statement of the work which remains for the reunited Republican party to do.

A VICTORY FOR THE CHILDREN

The Child Labor Bill passed the United States Senate last week by a vote of 52 to 12. The bill had been made a party measure at the urgent request of President Wilson, and, although all the votes cast against the bill except two were Democratic and from the South, the party and the President are entitled to credit for its passage. The two non-Democratic votes against the bill were those of Senator Penrose and Senator Oliver, of Pennsylvania.

The bill which passed the Senate differs in certain respects from the bill which passed the lower house last February. The two bills will have to be taken up, therefore, in joint conference, but there appears to be little question that the differences between the House and Senate bills can be adjusted and that the result will become law. In the Senate bill inter-State commerce is forbidden in the product of *mills or factories* in which children under *fourteen* have been employed and in the product of any *mine or quarry* in which children under *sixteen* years of age have been employed; commerce is forbidden also in the product of any place where children between fourteen and sixteen have

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worked over eight hours a day or over six days a week or before six in the morning or after seven at night. This is stronger than the House bill, which says that the product must be that of *children's labor*, while the Senate bill prohibits the transport of *all* articles made in a factory where children are employed under the conditions forbidden.

That the only right or fair way to control child labor is through a Federal law has long been maintained by The Outlook, for only thus can an equal condition exist as between the separate States in this matter. The fight over this legislation has extended for years, and now the friends of humanity, and especially of humane conditions for children, will rejoice that the struggle has been nearly brought to a happy conclusion.

TREATIES AND TRUCES IN INDUSTRIAL WARFARE

As the New York business man went to his office on Tuesday morning of last week he was pleased to note that street cars were running because a treaty of peace had been negotiated by the companies and the employees; he may also have noted from his car window the long lines of marching cloak strikers celebrating their return to their workshops after months of desperate industrial warfare; less agreeable was the news he read in his paper that the leaders of the great railway brotherhoods had by referendum to the individual workers received almost universal indorsement of their threat to institute a country-wide strike if their demands were not accepted. Even in this case, however, a truce or parley will certainly ensue before a war which would devastate business may begin.

All these large and fierce struggles are quite correctly described in terms of war. That industrial warfare must, and in time will, give way to industrial democracy and peace has been urged in The Outlook for many years. As in the realm of nations war will cease only when an international court exists with power to enforce its decisions, so industrial war will continue until we have sound legislation, scientific labor commissions, and compulsory enforcement of decrees just to capital, labor, and the public interest.

Meanwhile we must struggle as well as we can to encourage voluntary arbitration, to proffer machinery for agreement, and to depend a great deal upon the unwillingness of either combatant to brave the storm of public execration that will fall upon the party to a labor quarrel which refuses to act moderately and justly.

THE CLOAK STRIKE

As to the cloak and suit makers' lockout and strike, the terms reached were substantially those originally agreed upon by strike leaders and employers, and described at some length in The Outlook two weeks ago. The strikers at first refused to accept the terms, but finally yielded.

This was a bitter war; it lasted over three months; from forty to fifty thousand people were out of work; over $80,000 a week was paid by the unions out of reserve funds to keep off starvation; the employers badly needed the workers back to get the season's work under way. The result was a compromise; the employees made slight gains in wages and hours, and a price-adjusting board is provided; a strong preferential union recognition clause is included—no new employee may be hired until the employer is satisfied that the employee is in good union standing. On the other hand, the old Protocol plan of conciliation, shop committees, and graded arbitration is abandoned.

The employers, or their committee, intended, say the employees, to eradicate the union from the shops; they failed, and they now also make an admission of the employees' right to strike—a meaningless admission, as it seems to us.

THE TRACTION STRIKE

The honor of settling the traction strike in New York is due to Mayor Mitchel and Mr. Oscar S. Straus, Chairman of the Public Service Commission. Both worked incessantly and in a high public spirit for this end. The terms provide for an attempt by employees and the companies to settle by conference questions of wages and conditions, or, if they fail, to lay them before three arbitrators, one to be chosen by each party, and the third by the two thus named, or, if they fail to agree, by Mr. Straus. All this is excellent, and it may be hoped and expected that Mr. Straus will not again have occasion to call public attention to the fact that an agreement to arbitrate has been set aside or "forgotten" by representatives of the companies, as he did when the present strike was threatened, and

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threatened largely because of that failure to keep an agreement.

The first two sections of the agreement deserve special attention. Each begins with a clause which seems a mere truism, followed by a clause which means a good deal. Thus the first says: "The employees shall have the legal and moral right to organize" (which is indisputable), but adds: "The company pledges that it will not interfere with the employees in their exercise of these rights" (which means that union men will not be discharged *because* they are union men). And in the second section it is agreed that "the company shall receive and treat with a committee of the employees upon any and all questions that may arise between them." This might seem to be a reiteration of the anti-union contention that only actual employees of the particular company involved would be heard—a contention fatal to fair "collective bargaining;" but the section continues: "This committee to select such spokesmen or advisers as they may choose to represent them, without any objections on the part of the company." The last clause, if it means anything, means that National leaders of the union may act as advocates or agents, whereas actual employees who do so are too often "blacklisted." In short, we understand that the companies mean to have a fair, and not an unfair, "open shop" organization, but not a "closed shop;" indeed, the men in this agreement specifically agree not to interfere with non-union employees. As with the cloakmakers, the traction union men get, not full recognition, but toleration.

This treaty of peace seems fair and aboveboard. Whether it ends war or merely postpones it depends on the good faith with which it is observed. The public, certainly, is relieved from present fear of intolerable inconvenience; even the partial tie-up New York suffered entailed delay, crowding, walking by weak and tired people, acts of violence, and general apprehension.

THE RAILWAY WAR

It is almost impossible of belief that over three hundred and fifty thousand railway men on scores of railways should go on strike. Not until all means of conciliation and arbitration are exhausted is such a strike conceivable. And those means are not exhausted. When the statement was first made that the employees refused to arbitrate, The Outlook asked Mr. Warren Stone, Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, whether this were so, and in reply he sent us a statement signed by himself and the chiefs of the three other Brotherhoods involved, in which they say: "It is true that in past arbitrations the men were disappointed and to some extent lost faith in that method of adjustment of differences, but there is neither warrant nor authority for saying that arbitration will not be accepted."

One minor difficulty, that of the Switchmen's Union, has already been referred to the United States Board of Mediation and Conciliation under the Erdman Act, and strenuous efforts are being made to bring about similar action with the larger controversy. As we go to press it is reported that the Brotherhoods have accepted the offer of "friendly services" of the Federal Board of Mediation and Conciliation, and that the railway companies had already asked the Board to intervene.

The men claim that their demands for an eight-hour day for freight conductors, engineers, and brakemen mean just what they say. They also ask that "overtime" be paid for at a "time and a half" rate. The companies say that what the men really want is not decreased hours but increased pay. Of course the proposed plan would cost the company more, but it would not (except as to overtime) necessarily mean an increase in the individual workman's wages. That the men really are struggling for shorter hours is, we think, indicated in appeals like the following, which we reproduce from a poster sent out broadcast:

> THREE HUNDRED
> AND FIFTY
> THOUSAND MEN
>
> Railroad Engineers, Firemen, Conductors, Brakemen, Yardmen, and Engine Hostlers, with approximately *one million three hundred thousand* women and children to support, ask for an eight-hour day. Compelled to work long hours under a terrific strain, their lives are shortened, their health shattered.
>
> ¶ Give this great army of industry a square deal—eight hours' work—eight hours' sleep—eight hours' relaxation. It will make better citizens.

Whether the railway altercation is settled by compromise or arbitration, or whether the

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CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

From L'Asino (Rome)

THE CROWN PRINCE AND THE GERMAN SHEEP ON THE ROAD TO SLAUGHTER

MORE FOOD FOR POWDER

From La Baionette (Paris)

A FINE TARGET

"Captain, it is a merchant vessel, and she has stopped."
"Good! if she has stopped, you can certainly hit her!"

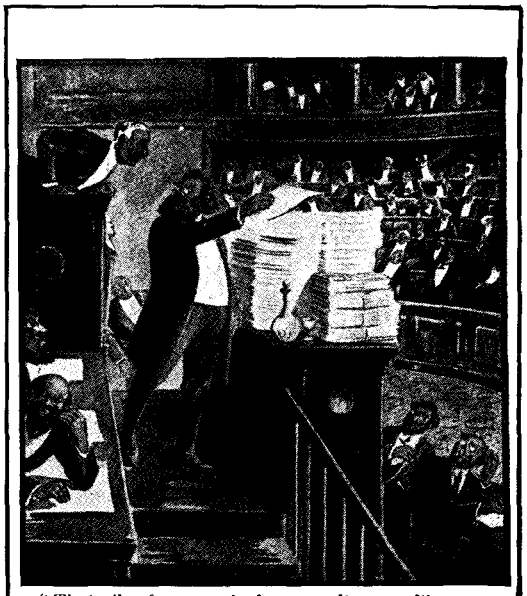
ETIQUETTE OF THE SUBMARINE

From Le Rire (Paris)

Briand: "It is tottering, Asquith; one more heave and it will fall!"

GERMAN MILITARISM

From Le Pêle-Mêle (Paris)



"That pile of papers—is that your discourse?"
"Yes, and a very important one—on the shortage of paper!"

WHERE SOME OF THE PAPER GOES

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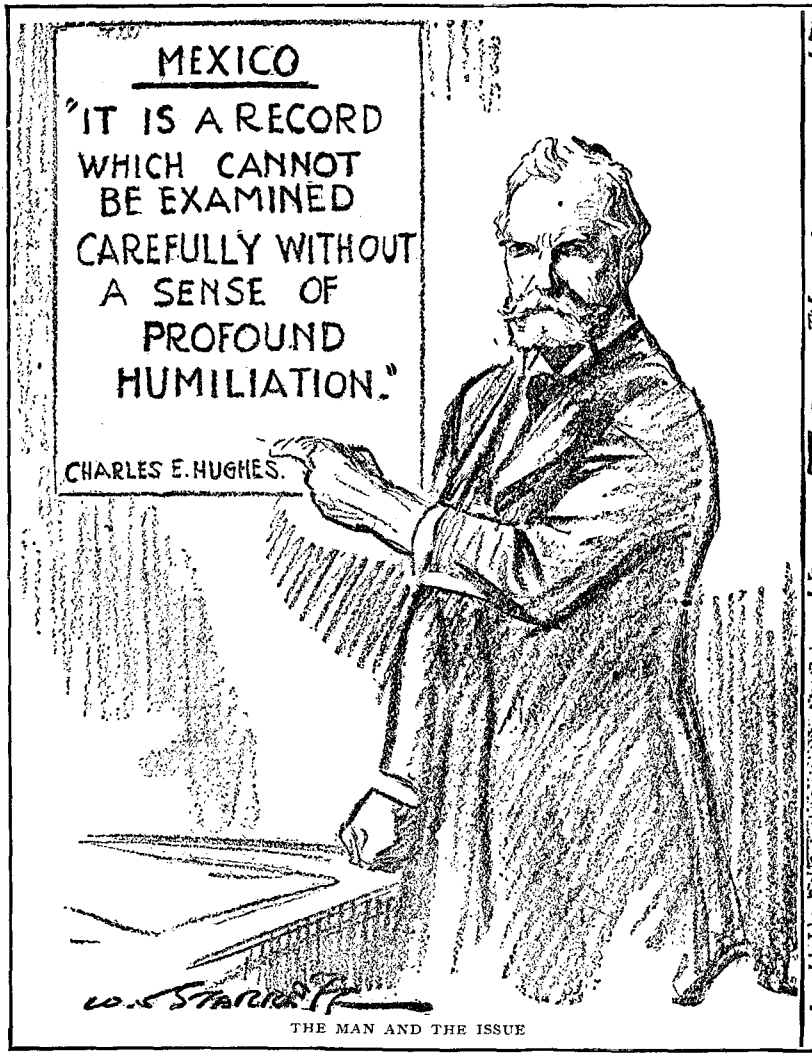
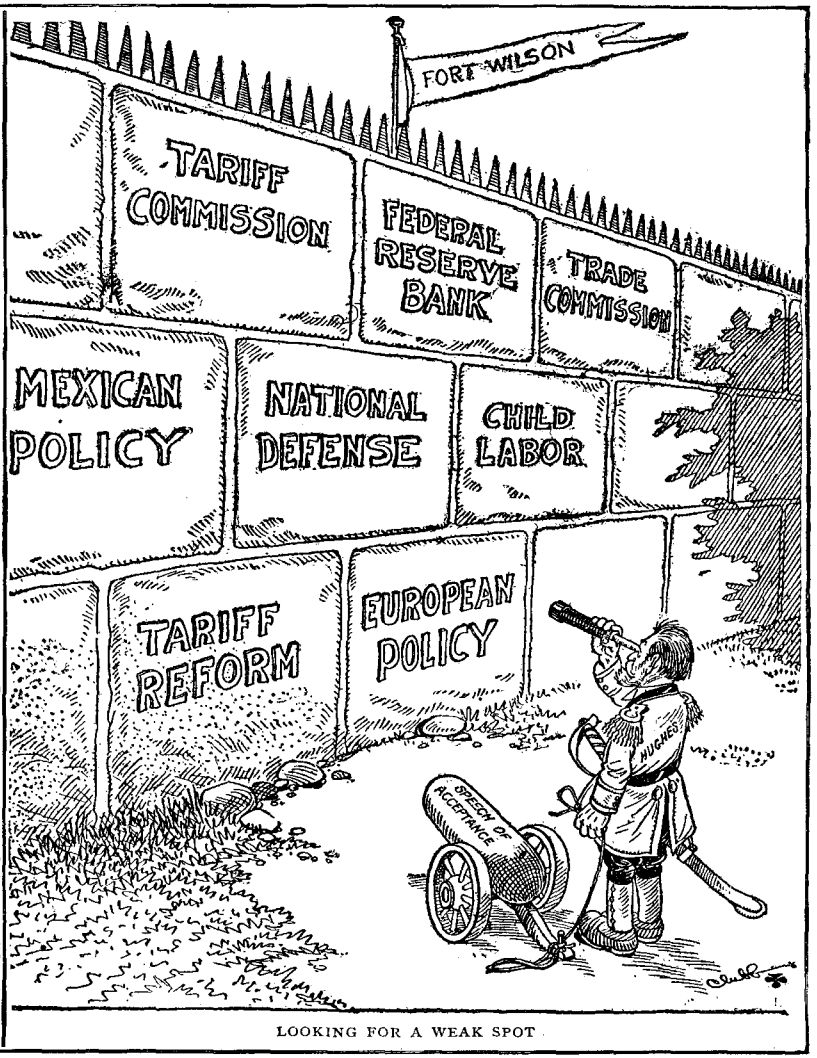
Sterrett in the New York Tribune **CARTOONS OF THE WEEK** *Clubb in the Rochester Herald*



THE MAN AND THE ISSUE

A REPUBLICAN VIEW



LOOKING FOR A WEAK SPOT

A DEMOCRATIC VIEW

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country witnesses a railway tie-up of proportions heretofore undreamed of, the controversy cannot fail to call attention to the fact that other countries (notably France) have laws which make such a blockading of the avenues of commerce illegal and impossible.

HAY FEVER

Of all the ills that human flesh is heir to none is perhaps less fatal or more irritating than hay fever. Sufferers from hay fever in its acute form can readily sympathize with the man who made his first transatlantic voyage, was prostrated with seasickness, and reported when he got home that on the first day he was afraid to heaven that he *was* going to die and on the second afraid to heaven that he *wasn't!*

A correspondent from New Orleans, Dr. William Scheppegrell, President of the American Hay Fever Prevention Association, informs us that the object of the Association of which he is the head is "the dissemination of general knowledge of benefit to sufferers from hay fever, the education of the public regarding the weeds that are known to produce this disease, and the use of its influence and co-operation towards the eradication of such weeds."

Hay fever prevails throughout the United States, and is generally a summer disease, although it may attack its victims in the spring. Dr. Scheppegrell estimates that one per cent of the population of the United States suffer from this provoking trouble. In the language of laymen, it may be said to be due to the irritation of the mucous membrane of the nasal passages which is produced by the pollen of certain plants. The pollen theory of hay fever was not established until about 1870. The disease received the popular name of hay fever because it was generally observed to develop about the time of the hay harvest. It has now been determined that the reason why sea voyages or high altitudes relieve the hay fever sufferer is because under these circumstances he is free from the effects of the irritating pollen. As the majority of cases in the United States are due to the pollen of the ragweed, the American Hay Fever Prevention Association has chiefly devoted itself to making war upon this weed. Those who wish to know more about the activities of the Hay Fever Association and its scientific investigations will do well to write to the office of the Association, Room 844, Audubon Building, New Orleans, Louisiana, for a copy of the very interesting pamphlet which it issues. To the summer slogan, "Swat the fly!" there may now be added the warlike cry, "Behead the ragweed!"

CHICAGO'S NEW MUNICIPAL PIER

With the new municipal pier stretching its three-thousand-foot length out into Lake Michigan, Chicago is getting herself in readiness for the not distant time when she will have deep-water connection with the Gulf of Mexico, and the route of her Great Lakes—with the St. Lawrence outlet to the North Atlantic—will have been better established. For then, having become that curious anomaly, an ocean lake port, she will have need of this great dockage space for the vessels that will come to her from the Atlantic and the Pacific. Eight thousand five hundred feet is the total that the new pier (together with the protecting breakwaters at either side) gives to Chicago's landing facilities. And, while waiting for the slow process of deepening the drainage canal, the pier is relieving the congestion in the river.

But the average citizen of Chicago sees in the vast public structure (a picture of which appears on another page) only a big recreation center where he and his family and his friends can get away from the heat emitted by brick and asphalt to enjoy the always cool breeze of the lake. Although the formal dedication did not take place until the 15th of July, Independence Day found some 70,000 people inspecting and marveling at their pink-red brick peninsula, and on succeeding Sundays from 125,000 to 200,000 more were out for the same purpose. Millionaires, college professors, street laborers, and bareheaded mothers from the slums, guiding broods of numerous children decked out in their uncomfortable Sunday best, mingled together in most democratic fashion.

One must see with one's own eyes this new structure to realize its magnitude of size. At the land end, which terminates at Grand Avenue, is the Head House, or administration building, surmounted by two large ornamental towers that conceal the water reservoirs. Extending east from this are the two passenger and freight buildings, with an eighty-foot roadway between them. These buildings, with no intervening partitions of any kind on either of their two floors to obstruct the view, are 2,340 feet long and 100 feet wide.

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Above these floors, promenade board walks sixteen feet wide run for a distance of more than half a mile to the terminal building. Here are located a small hospital, rest-rooms, lavatories, and a huge dining-room. From the terminal building extend two large sheltered corridors, topped with an open-air eating-place and summer garden. These join onto the pavilion building with its semi-circular concert and dancing hall, which seats four thousand people and allows dancing space for fifteen hundred couples. At either side of the arched coliseum rise the two observation towers that give a fine view of Chicago's shore-line, from the smokestacks of South Chicago to the farthest reaches of the north shore, and, on clear days, the sand dunes of Indiana, forty miles away.

Now that the pier, whose cost has exceeded $4,500,000, is at last ready for occupation, the public demand for its various uses is not satisfied with even the liberal plans of the Harbor Board, which has supervision. Not content with band concerts and orchestra programmes, dancing, high-class restaurant and cheaper refreshment offerings, and free nursery facilities, this delighted public asks for Sunday morning church services and heating arrangements in all the inclosed area, so that the pier may be used in the winter as well as in the summer.

SUMMER MUSIC IN NEW YORK

For years it has been a reproach to the great city of New York that during the summer those who live there or visit there can hear no public performance of good music. With the warm weather there has remained nothing better musically than the light burlesque. For a city of five million people that has been discreditable. Years ago one could go to Brighton Beach and hear Seidl and his orchestra play the "Tannhäuser" overture, and other not too heavy but not merely frothy pieces, to the accompaniment of the breakers on the sands. Even that kind of concert in New York now belongs to antiquity.

Some public-spirited people of the city who recognized this lack have provided a guarantee fund of $50,000, and as a consequence of months of planning a series of symphony concerts has been begun and carried on now for more than a month. An admirable orchestra has been formed, and under the leadership of Mr. Walter Henry Rothwell has given music of the sort to delight a critical taste. The concerts are given in Madison Square Garden twice a week (on Tuesday and Friday evenings), and the season extends for ten weeks.

These concerts are legitimately called "symphony concerts," since a symphony appears on almost every programme. There was none, of course, on the programme devoted to Wagner. (The only symphony Wagner ever wrote was a product of his youth, and is valued only as a historical curiosity.) That Wagner programme, by the way, brought out a crowd which filled the big hall and overflowed into the streets.

A typical programme was that given on July 25. First came Tschaikowsky's always popular, even though melancholy, symphony "Pathétique"—the last one he wrote, the symphony that the hearer imagines is a lament for the tragic struggle of the Russian people. This Mr. Rothwell interpreted with restraint, but not without power. The graceful second movement, though of considerable technical interest as an experiment in quintuple time, has distinctly the element of popularity in the tuneful melody which forms its main theme and the haunting reiteration of the beat in its middle part. Then the third movement has all the rhythmic fascination of a ragtime march. Every kind of hearer likes that kind of music.

After the symphony Mme. Androva sang a Gounod aria. Then came the overture to "Tannhäuser," ever with us. Two short pieces succeeded the sounding trombones of that overture's *finale*; a Præludium, by Jarnefelt, pastoral in quality and distinctly popular while being musicianly; and a "Valse Triste" by the Finnish (or, as the programme, by one of those typographical errors that reveal the genius at the typewriter or in the composing-room, called it, "finished") composer Sibelius. The feast ended with dessert: Johannes Strauss's Viennese waltz "Tales from the Vienna Woods." As one hearer remarked, there is enough musical material in that one waltz to make a dozen waltzes of the modern type. And, as the same hearer also remarked, it would be worth while hearing "that outfit"—namely, the Civic Orchestral Society—play some of the best ragtime.

Mr. Rothwell has collected a band of very high quality. It is, for example, far superior to the Philharmonic Society orchestra of a few years ago. And he is a leader who really leads. His musicianship is evident

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from first to last. He is a good maker of programmes. New Yorkers do not know him as well as they ought. He is a native of London who has spent many years in Vienna. He was conductor of the St. Paul Symphony Orchestra until about a year ago. He has had considerable experience in conducting opera orchestras in Germany, Austria, and Holland.

This experiment ought to become a fixture.

THE DANISH WEST INDIES

One more step has been taken towards the acquisition of the Danish West Indies by the United States. The treaty whereby the United States agrees to pay $25,000,000 for the islands has been signed by Secretary Lansing and Constantin Brun, Danish Minister to this country. Before the three islands involved—St. Thomas, Ste. Croix, and St. John—pass from the ownership of Denmark to the United States this treaty must be ratified by our Senate and the Danish Rigsdag.

In a recent issue of the New York "Times," Mr. N. L. Britton, Director-in-Chief of the New York Botanical Gardens, has written some interesting botanical reminiscences of his visits to the three islands of the Danish West Indies. He reminds New Yorkers that the collections of the New York Botanical Gardens contain specimens of very nearly all the plants known to inhabit the three Danish islands, and then goes on to describe the appearance and the flora and sylva of the islands. "On Ste. Croix," he says, "there is practically no forest remaining, but large areas of thicket and many fine individual trees, both native and introduced, are to be seen. A royal poinciana in full bloom at the end of a road was as fine a specimen of this glorious tree as I have seen anywhere."

Of St. Thomas and St. John Mr. Britton writes:

> St. Thomas and St John are smaller than Ste. Croix and altogether different from it; they have many plants which do not inhabit the larger island, and are picturesque in the extreme. . . . St. Thomas and St. John are almost wholly hilly. Sugar-cane was formerly grown on St. Thomas, but the slopes are not well adapted to this crop. A few acres of the natural forest remain at the top of the island, about 1,500 feet elevation, containing many plants of much interest, including ferns and orchids; the forest could, doubtless, be restored over the greater part of the highlands and along the many steep valleys; this should be done, for it would be a great boon to the people. . . .
>
> St. John lies close to St. Thomas to the east, and is much like it physiographically and botanically, but not as high; here considerable forest still exists, and we find running streams and locally dense undergrowth. This island is noteworthy as the home of perhaps the best bay rum trees, and the greater part of the inhabitants are engaged in the bay rum industry. Much of the high-grade oil of bay of commerce is produced on this small island. So if we buy St. John we will supplement a Porto Rican industry. . . . The bay rum is a beautiful little tree with thick, glossy leaves. . . . On St. John the tree springs up spontaneously from seed in the woodlands, and is also transplanted; . . . the leaves are gathered and the essential oil distilled from them.

We leave it to the omniscient political seers to forecast the effect of the purchase of the Danish West Indies and the assurance of our bay rum supply upon the barber vote in the coming election. The cry of "Better bay rum!" may yet swing some crucial State into the Democratic column. Who knows?

THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN
SERVANT OR LEADER?

In a letter to The Outlook printed in this issue Professor Souby puts very strongly and persuasively the reasons which compel him to support President Wilson and the Democratic party in this campaign. We commend that letter to the thoughtful attention of our readers. It is not likely that they will find any argument on behalf of the re-election of Mr. Wilson more reasonable than this. The very fact that Professor Souby reaches a conclusion at variance with our own increases our desire that our readers shall read it. It is not our purpose here to take this letter up point by point and endeavor to correct what we regard as erroneous in it. We think, for example, that what he says about Panama is incorrect both in fact and in interpretation. Most of his points, however, have been taken up at various times in The Outlook as we have commented on current events and current tendencies in public life. Our readers may analyze for themselves his statements and draw their own conclusions.

The publication of his letter, however, offers us the opportunity of pointing out the conception of government which underlies

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Professor Souby's letter and contrasting it with another conception of government. In each of these two conceptions there are possibilities of danger and elements of truth. Those who build all their political philosophy on one can see the dangers in the other. The question to-day is not whether one is wholly right and the other wholly wrong, but which conception needs emphasis.

Those who hold one conception and insist on emphasizing it regard public office-holders as being primarily servants to do as they are bidden. They regard it as not essential that public office-holders should have principles or convictions of their own, but only capacity to discover the will of the people and then to do it. According to this conception, the holder of a public office is not a leader of the people, but a follower. He is not to guide public opinion, but to respond to it. Leader he can be, but not leader of the people. His true function as leader consists in compelling his subordinates or associates in the Government to comply with the public will for the time being. If certain elected representatives of the people (as, for example, Members of Congress) are disinclined to follow the tendencies of public opinion, that public officer who has the power to compel them to follow those tendencies and exercises that power may be regarded as a leader of the other elected officials, as even a dictator of policies to the legislative branch, but his leadership is justifiable only to the degree in which the leader himself is a follower.

As a natural corollary of this view a political party is performing a function when it translates the public opinion of the time into some kind of action or law. A political party has therefore little or nothing to do with political convictions or theories or ideals. The more convictions or ideals that it has, the more burdened it is with impedimenta. It functions best when it is, to use Professor Souby's word, "flexible." It must adjust itself easily to changes in public opinion. The substance that binds the members of the party together is not, therefore, a common political doctrine, but loyalty to the organization itself. This loyalty is like that which a man feels for his club, not because the club stands for anything, but because it is his club and he likes it. A fairly reasonable measure, therefore, of the worth of a party consists in the success of its members in getting into public office, for if the party is "flexible," if it adapts itself from time to time to public opinion and is not too much overloaded with convictions or ideals, it will respond to the will of the people easily and be frequently in power. The good Democrats, for instance, are not those who, to use Mr. Souby's phrase, "still prate of States' rights, strict construction, free trade, etc.;" they are rather those who, while opposed to Federal child labor legislation in principle, are willing to vote for it because that is the way public opinion is moving. It is important, therefore, in the view of those who hold this theory, that party loyalty should be encouraged by distribution of office and other tokens of party success. Civil service reform interferes with this, but must be complied with to some degree if it is in the current of public opinion.

To those who hold to this conception of government in a democracy President Wilson naturally appeals as a President. He has exhibited the type of leadership which they approve. He has proved himself a master of Congress by compelling Congress to do reluctantly what the President believes to be the will of the people. Dictatorship of this kind is perfectly compatible with this conception of government, because it means dictating to public office-holders what the dictator has in turn received from the people. On the other hand, President Wilson has shown himself a good public officer in this conception because he has easily accommodated himself to changes in public opinion, and has not allowed his own expressed convictions to stand in the way of his flexibility.

In the last campaign he ridiculed "government by commission," but in his Administration he has discovered the trend of public opinion, and has been instrumental in forcing from a reluctant Congress a currency commission and a trade commission, has committed his party to a tariff commission, and has had influence in securing the insertion in an Administration measure of a provision for a commission on National defense.

He has regarded those who have led in the movement for preparedness as "nervous and excited;" but as public opinion has developed in the direction of preparedness, under leadership other than his own, he has adapted himself to the newer situation, and has given his sanction to measures of National defense which a few months ago he regarded as preposterous.

He has urged that Mexicans be allowed to spill all the blood they please, and yet as

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public indignation against anarchy in Mexico and its consequent injury to Americans has grown he has shown himself flexible, and has come to advocate measures which would prevent all revolution in Mexico or anywhere else in Latin America.

In foreign relations he has changed with changing sentiment, and has been willing to sacrifice his own warnings to a foreign Power in order to follow the opinion which has seemed to prevail—that, above all things, the country must keep out of war.

He has urged vigorously and unqualifiedly the importance of Presidential primaries; but he has dropped all reference to them in accord with the general passing of public interest in the subject.

In relation to Congress President Wilson has shown qualities as a dictator; in relation to public opinion he has been exceedingly able as a follower. Those who hold, therefore, a conception of government which exalts flexibility in office-holder and in party find in Mr. Wilson an excellent embodiment of their view.

In contrast to this conception may be placed that which emphasizes leadership. Those who hold to this conception feel strongly that democracy must have leaders. Other forms of government have been created, so to speak, from the top downward, and leaders are provided by birth without any effort on the part of organized society. In a democracy, on the other hand, unless the people themselves create their leaders there will be none. It is especially important, therefore, that in a democracy emphasis should be laid on leadership. Without leaders a democracy is like an army without officers. No fighting can be carried on without men in the ranks; but without officers the fighting is useless for men in the ranks, for it will lead merely to failure and extinction. So in a democracy survival of society depends upon leaders. The difference between democracy and other forms of government is not that other forms have leaders and democracy has none, but that in other forms of government leaders are ready made for the people, while in a democracy the people must make their leaders for themselves.

According to this view, the function of the party is primarily to create leaders worthy to lead; that to this end there must be ideals toward which these leaders direct the people. If they are to function properly, parties must therefore have ideals and hold fast to them; they must develop within themselves a body of political doctrine; they must be willing to sacrifice office at times for the sake of their convictions. There must be another kind of cohesiveness besides the "cohesiveness of public plunder." Loyalty to the party must be simply the outward expression of an inward loyalty to the party's principles. When principles are at stake, as they have been time and again in the history of this country—as they were in 1860 when slavery was the issue, and as they are to-day when the duty of the Nation to other nations seems to be conflicting with considerations of comfort—that party is the best party which is not flexible, but is inflexible.

At this critical time the Nation has had in public office not leaders but followers. The people of America have felt the lack of efficient and responsible leaders among their elective representatives, and especially in executive offices. For leadership in defense of American rights, in preparedness, in National unity, in the development of a sense of international duty, the people have had to look to private citizens with neither authority nor responsibility. Those who believe that democracy needs leaders, and that in particular the United States at this time needs a leader in the Presidential chair, have ceased to look for leadership from Mr. Wilson, and are turning to Mr. Hughes. They see danger in a party that is "flexible" because it has no profound convictions. They believe that inflexible adherence to conviction is the course of safety as well as of righteousness in a time like this.

WANTED: A REAL COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

There is a clause in the present Army Appropriation Bill which provides for a "Council of National Defense." This clause has received the approval of both the House and the Senate.

The function of this Council of National Defense, as described in the present appropriation bill, is to supervise and direct investigations and make recommendations to the President and the heads of executive departments as to the location of railways with reference to the frontier of the United States, so as to render possible expeditious concentration of troops and supplies to points of defense; the co-ordination of military, indus-

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trial, and commercial purposes in the location of extensive highways and branch lines of railway; the utilization of waterways; the mobilization of military and naval resources for defense; the increase of domestic production of articles and materials essential to the support of armies and of the people during the interruption of foreign commerce; the development of seagoing transportation; data as to amounts, location, method and means of production, and availability of military supplies; the giving of information to producers and manufacturers as to the class of supplies needed by the military and other services of the Government, the requirements relating thereto, and the creation of relations which will render possible in time of need the immediate concentration and utilization of the resources of the Nation.

This Council of National Defense is to consist of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, the Chief of Staff of the army, an officer of the navy not below the rank of captain to be designated by the Secretary of the Navy, and not more than six persons to be appointed by the President of the United States, each of whom shall have special knowledge of some industry, public utility, or the development of some natural resource.

Those who have followed the development of the idea of creating a Council of National Defense will see from this that the plan for a Council of National Defense provided for in the present appropriation bill differs from the body which has been so strongly recommended by so many authorities both military and civil.

The Council of National Defense which The Outlook has emphatically supported was intended to provide a means for co-ordinating the activities of all the branches of our Government which touch the question of National defense—not only the two arms of the service and the Executive, but the two houses of Congress as well. The purpose and function of this Council were well described in a report of the General Staff of the army in 1912:

> As war is but a phase of international politics, so military policy is but a phase of international policy. In its broadest sense the organization of the land forces is but a part of the National war organization, which includes the organization of the sea forces and of all other National resources.
>
> A scientific solution of our military problem must include a determination and definition of National policy, and the provision of sufficient military and naval forces to support that policy against such adverse interests as may develop from time to time. As several departments of the Government are concerned in the settlement of this question, it is obvious that a sound policy must be predicated upon a comprehensive view of the whole problem with the view of co-ordinating and balancing its several elements.
>
> In order to formulate a comprehensive policy for the consideration of Congress, it is believed that there should be a Council of National Defense similar to the one proposed in H. R. 1309. The function of this Council, as defined in the bill, is to "report to the President, for transmission to Congress, a general policy of National defense, and such recommendation of measures relating thereto as it shall deem necessary and expedient."

The bill referred to in this recommendation of the General Staff was, it will be remembered, defeated in Congress. The Council provided for by this defeated bill numbered among its members the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, the chairmen of the Committees on Appropriations, Foreign Affairs, Military Affairs, and Naval Affairs from the Senate and the House, the Chief of the General Staff of the army, an officer of the navy not below the rank of captain, and the Presidents of the Army and Navy War Colleges.

Since this bill was proposed, the developments of the European war and the campaign for preparedness in this country have taught us that a nation to be prepared must be organized in the industrial as well as the military sense. Therefore, coupled with this demand for a Council of National Defense, there has grown up an insistence upon the organization of a general staff of industry, comparable in power and purpose to the present General Staff of the army. Last spring this demand received the approval of the Committee on National Defense of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. It is quite reasonable to believe that when a general staff of industry is created it ought to be given as strong a representation on any real Council of National Defense as the army or the navy.

It seems to The Outlook that the Council of National Defense as proposed in the present appropriation bill does not completely meet the demands of the situation. It is neither a complete and self-contained general staff of industry nor an organization representing all

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branches of the Government and capable of formulating an adequate and continuous policy of National defense. It is neither limited enough in function or membership to play a vital part in the mobilization of our industries, nor broad enough in scope and purpose to aid in the definition and the execution of our National problems of defense. It without doubt represents a commendable step in the right direction, but it does not satisfy the widespread demand for the co-ordination of all our resources, industrial and governmental.

MR. DILL IS DISTURBED

The Oregonian News Bureau, under the Washington date of July 24, reports as follows:

Representative Dill to-day protested to the Secretary of War against the retention of the Washington National Guard at Calexico, one of the hottest spots on the border. He asked that the regiment be transferred to some more comfortable station.

Secretary Baker said he was sorry for the boys, but explained that the detail of troops is entirely in the hands of General Funston.

Representative Dill thereupon telegraphed his protest to General Funston.

The purpose of the protest by Representative Dill is most commendable, but we fear not only that he has carried his complaint to the wrong court, but that he has also taken a most inexplicably indirect method of remedying the sorrowful condition of the Washington National Guard.

Since we are always ready to help others upon the slightest provocation, we are more than willing to outline for Representative Dill three methods by which his commendable purpose may be easily achieved. These three methods may be defined as the politico-geographical, the plain geographical, and the admonition direct. Each of these three methods can be easily executed either through the personal persuasion of the anxious Mr. Dill or through a resolution adopted by a joint session of the two houses of Congress.

The first or politico-geographical method is as follows: After first securing the permission of the British Government, persuade Carranza and Villa to transfer their respective, if not always respectable, commands to the wilds of British Columbia, then let General Funston move the Washington Guardsmen to our northern frontier, where they can not only protect the United States from invasion, but can also live under conditions which Mr. Dill thinks suitable for the true convenience of soldiers.

The second method, or the plain geographical, can be easily accomplished by the simple expedient of moving to some spot to be determined by competent astronomical authority all the back numbers of the "Congressional Record." Such a measure, if correctly calculated and carried out under the efficient direction of Mr. Dill, would obviously so incline the axis of the earth that the horrendous vicinity of Calexico would be at once placed within the confines of the truly temperate zone.

The third method, or the admonition direct, can, of course, be best operated through a resolution by Congress, though doubtless Mr. Dill's personal resolve would in itself be sufficient. But we suggest, if Mr. Dill is willing to place the matter in the hands of Congress, that the resolution be cast in the following form:

Resolved: That upon the passage of this resolution by Congress the town of Calexico shall possess and hereby does possess the most equable climate within the borders of the United States.

We do not even suspect that the Washington Guard will thank Mr. Dill for his misdirected efforts.

NO PLACE FOR DESPAIR

It is not surprising that many people are very much disturbed by present conditions in the world. It is a very disturbing moment in modern life. All periods of rapid change are inevitably disturbing; and just now forces long gathering momentum are sweeping on with a kind of Niagara velocity and momentum—a momentum which inevitably involves a certain amount of destruction. Society is by no means as far advanced in moral and civic education as many people supposed. They had dismissed the talk of a great European war as a survival of earlier nightmares; they were sure that Europe had reached a stage which made such a war impossible. Now that it has come they find the fears of the last twenty years more than justified, and they are appalled by what seems to them an outburst of savagery. The deeps have been broken up and the foundations of the world seem to be shaken. Despair has

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settled like a cloud over many thoughtful people.

It is not easy to escape the depression which such a colossal disturbance produces, nor to throw off the fear which such a liberation of elemental passions creates. But despair is atheism. If this were a man-made world, there would be abundant reason for despair of the future of society. But it is a God-made world. The first words in the opening sentence of the Bible must forever exile despair from the world: "In the beginning God." In a God-made world the wreckage of human plans must inevitably bring pain and temporary discouragement; but it is a small matter that our plans, based upon our limited knowledge and vitiated by our lack of vision, fail of fulfillment. In this life everything we do must conform to the plan of Divine Intelligence; must work harmoniously with the purposes which far outrun our vision. Our plans fail because they are inadequate; our predictions remain unfulfilled because they are made without prophetic vision.

One of the tragedies of life is the disappointment of conscientious parents, ambitious for their children's progress and happiness, because those children do not go in the way marked out for them. Men and women in whose hands rest the fate of children forget that every child is an individual and that the chief care of its parents ought to be, not to shape it to carry out the plans of others, but to give it freedom to express its own personality. Many boys and girls have been blighted because they have been forced by their parents into occupations to which they were predestined without any reference to their individual gifts. Phillips Brooks very beautifully brings out the double parentage of the child. Human parents must continually face the fact that their children have a heavenly Father as well as an earthly father and mother, and that this double parentage often involves a defeat of the plans of the earthly father and mother because they are too limited and do not harmonize with the genius of the child. The chief concern of the earthly father and mother is not to carry out their plans for the child, but to fulfill the plans which are disclosed by his individual gifts.

Life is crowded with illusions, but illusions are not delusions; they are not used for purposes of deception; they disclose the method by which the Divine Intelligence leads the undeveloped intelligence of men or women on from point to point, losing the nearer prize in order to secure the ultimate prize.

If at the doors of the kindergarten a child could see plainly the path which it must travel to the day that it goes out of the university or technical school, its spirit would be overwhelmed by the length and rigor of the journey; but it goes on from day to day insensibly preparing for a future too vast for it to understand. There used to be a great deal of preaching about the disappointment which life brings because it does not fulfill the hopes and ambitions of youth; the real trouble with life is not its littleness, but its overwhelming vastness. Many men and women grow faint on the journey because of what the Bible calls the "greatness of thy way." Probably no discoverer ever yet completely realized his hope; on the other hand, no great discoverer has ever yet had any adequate idea of the magnitude of his achievement. The men who set out in the fifteenth century to add to the territories of their sovereigns ended by unveiling continents and making place for the development of new nations. The most intrepid explorers never get to the end of their journey. When the first mountain peak is reached, the horizon is crowded with other mountain peaks, and these in turn unfold still broader vistas.

So God leads men on from point to point, separate achievements which seemed finalities at the start being mere stations for momentary rest. The greatness of life is not in things finished, but in strength developed and in the larger things made possible; the glory of life is not in any achievement, however great; and success lies, not in carrying out the plan nearest the heart or realizing the dearly cherished hope, but in that growth of inward strength which enables a man to substitute a greater will for his will and to conform to a greater law than that which he has defined for himself.

Heaven, we may be sure, is not a stationary condition of bliss, but a progression, without pause or weariness, in an internal growth.

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THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

A LETTER FROM AN ADVOCATE OF PRESIDENT WILSON'S RE-ELECTION

(In connection with this letter see an editorial entitled "The Presidential Campaign: Servant or Leader?")

Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

To the Editor of The Outlook:

Dear Sir—The Progressive party is dead, and practical men must choose between Wilson and Hughes. Your editorial on "The Real Issue" (The Outlook for July 12) does not convince me and thousands of others of the wisdom of choosing Hughes over Wilson. You make an appeal to the history of the two parties. Apparently history is what you read into it. Let me also make an appeal to history, and if the result be only what I read into it, it certainly rests on as high authority as does yours. I'll treat the Democratic party first.

The Democratic party, gaining control of the National Government in 1801, immediately discarded its own extravagant views, adopted what was best in the policies of its great rival, and became the dominant party until 1824—a party as truly National as any in our history. Then it was broken into sectional factions, the extreme pro-slavery States returning (not fully apparent until later) to the old Democratic theory of a weak Central Government and a tariff for revenue only, with emphasis on a strict construction of the Constitution; but Andrew Jackson, the greatest exponent of Democracy since Jefferson, acknowledged the constitutionality and expediency of the principle of protection, though objecting to its abuses, stood firmly for a strong National Government, knocking "nullification" into a cocked hat, and appropriated Webster's dictum of an inseparable union. He did destroy the National bank, not, however, because he feared that the Government was becoming too centralized, but because the National bank represented special privilege.

The Democratic party stood for strict construction in theory; but it gave us the Louisiana Territory, all other territory west of the Mississippi except Alaska, and Florida east of it; it opposed paternalism in theory, but it has given us the proposed Alaska railway, the new Currency Bill, and the Underwood Tariff Bill—yes, and the Inter-State Commerce Act of 1887 and the proposed Shipping Bill. Whether you like it or not, it certainly is paternalistic enough to satisfy even Hamilton.

The truth is that such doctrines as States' rights, a weak centralized Government, strict construction of the Constitution, and free trade were never the fundamental doctrines of the Democratic party. These have been only means to the great end of democracy—means which were always abandoned when found inadequate. The fundamental doctrine of the Democratic party has always been democracy—the right of the people to govern themselves and the wisdom of allowing them to do so. At different times this has manifested itself in different ways. Up to the end of Jackson's Administration the party worked to secure political equality; that being attained, thinking the victory won, the evils of social and industrial inequality not being then so manifest, the party lost sight of its mission for a time, wasting its vitality over the problems growing out of slavery, and almost died as a result of its attitude on that great question. To-day its greatest leaders, mindful of the party's fundamental doctrine of democracy, are fighting for social and industrial justice. I do not mean that it is alone in this; but the organized Progressive party, with which this was also a cardinal doctrine, has fallen a victim to hero worship and is no more. It is this fundamental doctrine of the Democratic party that has kept the party alive, and it has failed in proportion as it has at times lost sight of it. It is alive to-day by reason of its ability always to "come back." When it abandons its one great principle, it will die, and it ought to die. It is because the Republican party has always stood for Hamilton's idea of a government by the rich and the strong, with his distrust of the people, and has "reluctantly accepted," while the Democratic party has "cordially welcomed," the claims of genuine democracy, that I am afraid to trust it with power in this great crisis of our history.

I am aware that many Democrats, who are regarded by some as leaders, still prate of States' rights, strict construction, free trade, etc., as fundamental doctrines of the Democratic party, thinking thereby to catch votes.

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But Wilson and Bryan and Baker and Lane and Burleson and Lansing and Brandeis (the latter a leader of the new democracy, though not of the Democratic party) know better, and are proving it by their deeds. These men are now securely at the head of their party, so recognized even by the reactionary leaders of the party. It certainly cannot be said that Hughes and Roosevelt and La Follette and Cummins and Johnson, etc., are the recognized leaders of the Republican party, or that they are likely to be during the next few years, even in the event of a Republican victory.

You say that party platforms are made to catch voters and are not to be taken too seriously. In that I agree with you, whether you have in mind the Democratic platform or the Republican, or the platform of the late Progressive party of 1916 (though not the platform of the Progressives in 1912). Yet you condemn the Democratic party for its foolish theories, usually expressed in platforms, and for its inconsistency in later repudiating those theories in practice. Is that fair?

The glory of the Democratic party, if it has any glory, lies just in the fact of its apparent inconsistency. If we lose sight of its fundamental doctrine, regarding the means that it sometimes used as ends, then it certainly has been inconsistent. In the same way Lincoln was inconsistent and ought to be condemned for abandoning his slave policy of March, 1861, for that of January, 1863. But we choose rather to acknowledge him as one of the very greatest Americans. If it had not been for its apparent inconsistency, the Democratic party would long since have died. In fact, the supreme characteristic of the Democratic party has been its flexibility, its readiness to adapt its policies to changed conditions. It found that the great end of democracy could not be attained by maintaining the old theories of States' rights, free trade, and a weak Central Government, and it abandoned them in practice. Since the Civil War it has never stood seriously for free trade or opposed a strong Central Government. You cannot call the tariff that Cleveland tried to put through or the Underwood Tariff Bill free-trade measures; neither do the Alaska Railroad Bill, the new Currency Bill, and the proposed Shipping Bill reveal any fear of centralized power.

The Democratic party at different times, like St. Paul, has been all things to all men, changing its practices to meet the demands of enlightened public opinion. And, just so long as the fundamental principle of democracy is not lost sight of, that is just what a political party should be and do; for under our two-party system (I am not making a plea for the continuance of the system, but simply recognizing it as a fact) that is the only way progress lies. The Federalist party, though most ably led, committed suicide for lack of flexibility. It stood for a government by the rich and the able, with a cordial distrust of the people, after the masses had become conscious of their power and made demands on the Government for a more generous participation in it. The Whig party died from the same disease of inflexibility. At a time when the one issue was the question of the spread of slavery to our Territories or its restriction to its own limits the Whig party straddled the fence, refusing to recognize the real issue, standing pat for its old policies of the protective tariff and the National bank. The party was buried, and the new Republican party rose to take its place. This new party made free territory its cardinal doctrine, and won control of the Government on that issue. But that question was forever settled as the result of war. What about the party to-day? As you stated in your editorial, it is the logical successor to both the Federalist and the Whig parties. Thus far it has proven only a little more flexible than its ancestors. The slavery question settled, in practice, and sometimes in actual statement of theory, it has stood for a government by the rich and the strong, with a contempt for the masses. On the death of Lincoln the party fell under the control of the most unscrupulous demagogues that ever cursed a government. Grant, a good man and a great general, but a very weak and incompetent President, proved an easy prey for them, and they perpetrated unpardonable political crimes under the cover of his popularity. It might refresh your memory to re-read the history of South Carolina, Louisiana, and Mississippi under the Republican reconstruction legislation. It is very edifying. During the ten years after the death of Lincoln political corruption smelled to heaven; the odious "spoils system" flourished and was defended by the leaders of the party; millions of acres of priceless territory were given away to railway companies, Congressmen and Senators receiving railway stocks for their favorable legis-

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lation. Reform in 1872 was defeated. It was partially successful in 1876, the great and able Hayes being elected by the support of the genuine reformers in the party, and by the use of money and Negro votes of the South by the standpatters. But the reforms of Hayes were openly opposed by the bulk of the party leaders, who refused to renominate him in 1880. It is true that the better element of the party did force the nomination of so good a man as Garfield, but they had to take the "stalwart" Arthur as his running mate, and lost the fruits of their victory at the hands of an assassin. The core of the party has been "standpat" ever since, its various defeats failing to teach the obvious lesson.

To sum it up, this is the heritage of the Republican party after it gave us a united territory, free from the blight of Negro slavery, under the leadership of Lincoln, as I read it from the pages of history: It is the legitimate father of "reconstruction;" it has grown sleek and fat on political corruption, even the Federal district courts being no exception to the rule; it has stood for a protective tariff in the interest of "big business," its "full dinner-pail" and the-protection-of-the-American-laborer arguments to the contrary notwithstanding; it stands for the dictum that the President should have no interests aside from that of his party, which dictum Presidents Grant, Harrison, McKinley, and Taft were praised for accepting, and Johnson, Hayes, Garfield, and Roosevelt execrated, antagonized, and rejected for not accepting; it started the wave of pension graft, which no political party, not even its bitterest opponents, have dared attack for fear of the Union soldier vote; it firmly cemented the alliance between Government and "big business," which is the greatest curse of the American Republic, and thus introduced "invisible" government on a National scale; it gave us the McKinley Tariff and the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890, the Dingley Tariff of 1897, the Payne-Aldrich Tariff (the "best tariff bill ever passed"), in 1909; also the Ballinger whitewash under Taft. For all these favors and many more the American people showed their appreciation by the Congressional landslides in 1882, 1890, 1910, and 1912; by the election of Cleveland in 1884, 1892, and Wilson in 1912. To be more concrete, I will quote from the platform on which Cleveland was elected in 1884, a condemnation of the party acknowledged by the bolters when they voted for him: "The Republican party is an organization for enriching those who control its machinery. It has steadily decayed in moral character and political capacity. Its platform promises are now only a list of its past failures. Honeycombed with corruption, outbreaking exposures no longer shock its moral sense. The frauds and jobbery which have been brought to light in every department of the Government are sufficient to have called for a reform within the Republican party; yet those in authority have placed in nomination a ticket against which the independent portion of the party are in open revolt."

It is true that the party gave us Roosevelt's Administrations, which would do much to redeem the past did we not know that it was by accident in 1901, by necessity in 1904, and that the leaders of the party opposed practically all the good measures of his Administration, put the road-roller over him in 1912, and gave him the "horse-laugh" in 1916. But Roosevelt himself, while he gave us an able and clean administration for the most part, with his great fight for conservation, also gave us his private revolution in Panama backed up by United States gunboats, a high-handed act that only those who perpetually worship at his shrine have ever been able to sanction. I also acknowledge the wisdom of the Republican conduct in Cuba and their able administration of the Philippines, though the Philippine policy may be discounted somewhat by the narrow commercial policy imposed by the Republican leaders, another evidence of "invisible" government.

On this record the American people are asked to choose Hughes, whom the bosses found it most convenient to accept at the Chicago Convention, for the next President of the United States. If Hughes and his kind are actually to control the Administration, there is really not much to choose between him and Wilson, both being men of the highest ability, integrity, and patriotism. But the history of the Republican party reveals the same inflexibility that characterized its two predecessors, the Federalist and the Whig parties. The Republican party was approaching the grave from 1912 to 1916; but the blind hero worship of the Progressive party in the latter year, coupled with the desertion of the fundamental issue of social justice in return for Roosevelt and his violent opposition to the Wilson Administration, and his specious doctrine of "Americanism" (what-

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ever that may mean), gave the "grand old party" a new lease on life.

Mr. Roosevelt, some Progressives, and the editors of The Outlook may deceive themselves into the belief that the party has reformed; but there are a great many of us who refuse to believe it, and who refuse to accept "preparedness" and "Americanism" as the "real issues." The core of the party was standpat in 1912, and that core, all but ignoring the lesson of defeat in that year, is still standing pat in 1916, though making a platform "to catch votes." It is not that we Democrats discredit the ability, patriotism, and independence of Justice Hughes, but the fact that the Republican leaders now in control of the party have never yet been successfully led by anybody with progressive ideas. That is contrary to the party's dictum, which is that the President must have no interest distinct from that of his party, otherwise it's "the devil take the President."

Look at the promises of the Republican party in 1908 and 1912. Both political parties solemnly promised downward revision of the tariff in 1908; the Payne-Aldrich Tariff resulted from a Republican victory. The same promises were made in 1912; the Underwood Tariff resulted from a Democratic victory. It was a revision downward; but not even The Outlook would call that a free-trade measure. Now the European war, with our inconvenience from the lack of German dyestuffs and drugs, has given the party a reason for demanding a high tariff. Of course they promise a tariff commission (a progressive measure, be it remembered, and a promise which the Democrats also make); but what reason have we to hope that the commission will have more influence than their own expert commission of 1883? That commission, you may remember, recommended a twenty per cent reduction; but the party leaders were wiser than their commission and gave the country a three per cent reduction.

No, you are wrong about the real issue. The real issue is what it was in 1872 and in 1912 (your own editorials and Mr. Roosevelt's speeches made that clear in 1912) and what it will be until the matter is settled: Whether industrial democracy is to remain a dream or to be translated into reality. To hold up "preparedness" and "Americanism" as the one issue is to distract the minds of our people from true reform, and to lend aid to those who have always believed in "invisible" government in gaining control of the Administration. It is always in the fog of some false issue or some outside danger that they have got in their effective work—witness the false issue of "free silver" made prominent by the radical Democrats in 1896, and the excitement of the Spanish-American War in 1898, followed by the Philippine War. The bosses also got a strangle-hold on the body politic during the long excitement of the Civil War. Nothing could please them better than our hysteria, induced by the European war and the Mexican troubles. The question of preparedness is already settled, in so far as political parties can settle it. We are to have military preparedness whichever party is victorious at the polls in November. We shall have all the preparedness we can pay for; the politicians of both parties, the believers in "invisible" government, will see to that. The other kind of preparedness the political parties cannot give; that can come only from our own people, and the parties can only register their will. The Outlook itself, in its issue of July 12, gave eloquent testimony, in the case of Germany against England and France, of the futility of material preparation when opposing even an unprepared nation that still possessed a soul. The real issue is the preservation of our National soul, and that is and must be an internal policy.

Mistakes in National policy, even when a question of "National honor" is involved, are soon forgotten or easily corrected. Think of the blunders of Great Britain, from our colonial history to the War of 1812! Think of the numerous blunders of France in her relations with us as well as with other nations! Yet we still honor both England and France, have forgotten or forgiven their past injuries to us, and remember only their present good will. Our failure to make a protest against the German invasion of Belgium at the time is such a complicated matter that neither our own conscience, nor that of European historians, nor that of our own future historians, will hold the American Nation as guilty of moral turpitude for its failure to do what Mr. Roosevelt thinks it should have done. Such lofty sentiments as Mr. Roosevelt and The Outlook have given vent to in the matter lack the element of common sense.

But the conditions that have produced child labor, the Industrial Workers of the

(*Continued on page following illustrations*)

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Current Events Pictorially Treated

PHOTOGRAPH BY PRESS ILLUSTRATING SERVICE

AMORO SATO, JAPAN'S NEW AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

This country is familiar to Mr. Sato, for he was here as a student at the De Pauw University in Indiana. He is well known as a diplomatist, having served his nation as Ambassador to Austria and in other high positions

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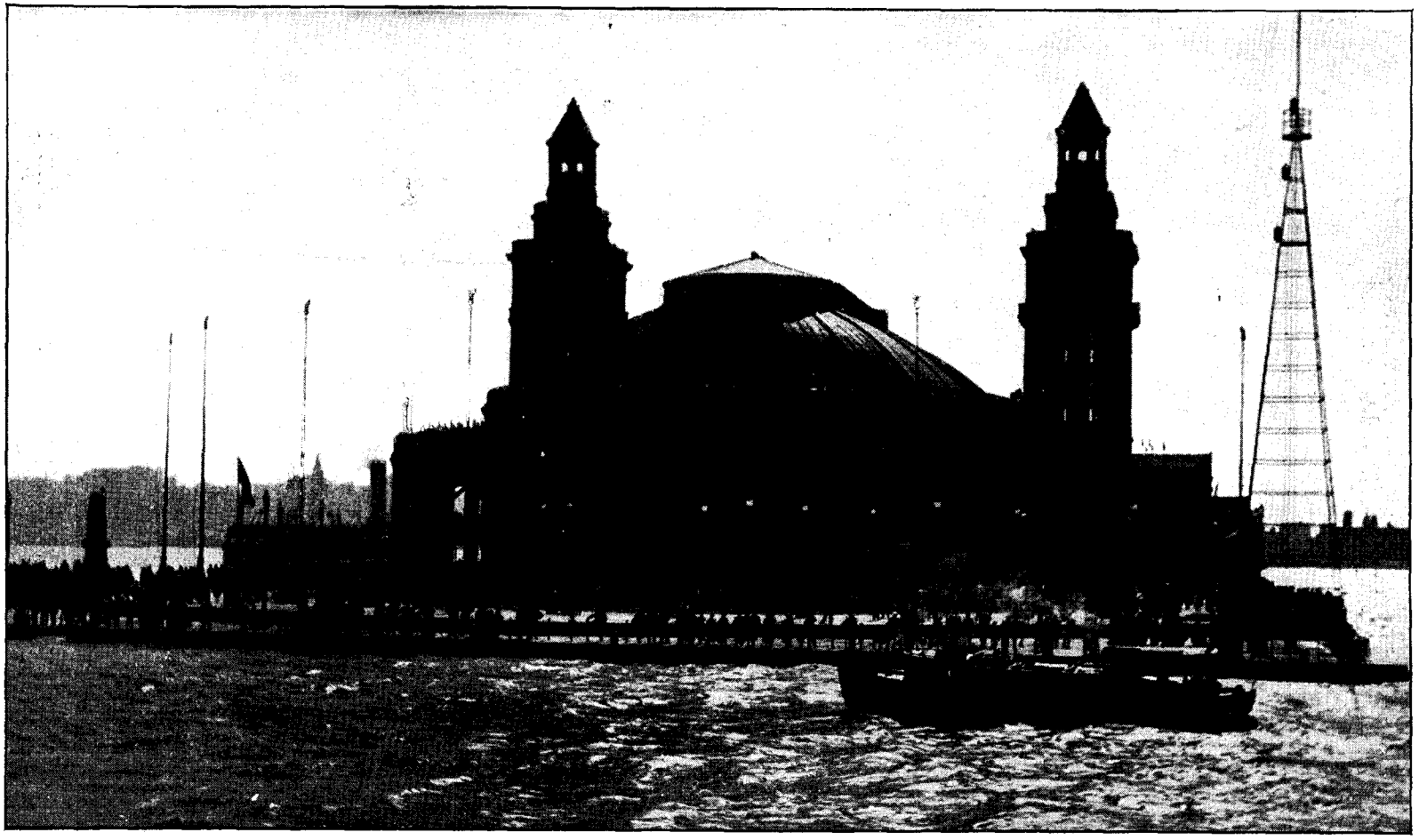

CHICAGO'S NEW MUNICIPAL PIER

This great recreation pier extends 3,000 feet into Lake Michigan. The picture gives a view of the concert hall and the observation towers. See editorial pages for further description

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MAYOR MITCHEL AND COMMISSIONER WOODS, OF NEW YORK CITY, INSPECTING A POLICE REGIMENT

This regiment of New York City policemen is shown on the parade grounds of Fort Wadsworth, Staten Island. In the front row, left to right, are Captain Martindale, Inspector Dyer, Mayor Mitchel, and Police Commissioner Woods

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PHOTOGRAPH BY PRESS ILLUSTRATING SERVICE

THE GREAT EXPLOSION AND FIRE IN NEW YORK HARBOR

The photograph was taken from Black Tom Island, the scene of the principal devastation, on Sunday morning, July 30, about five o'clock. The burning ship seen in the background was but one of several vessels destroyed

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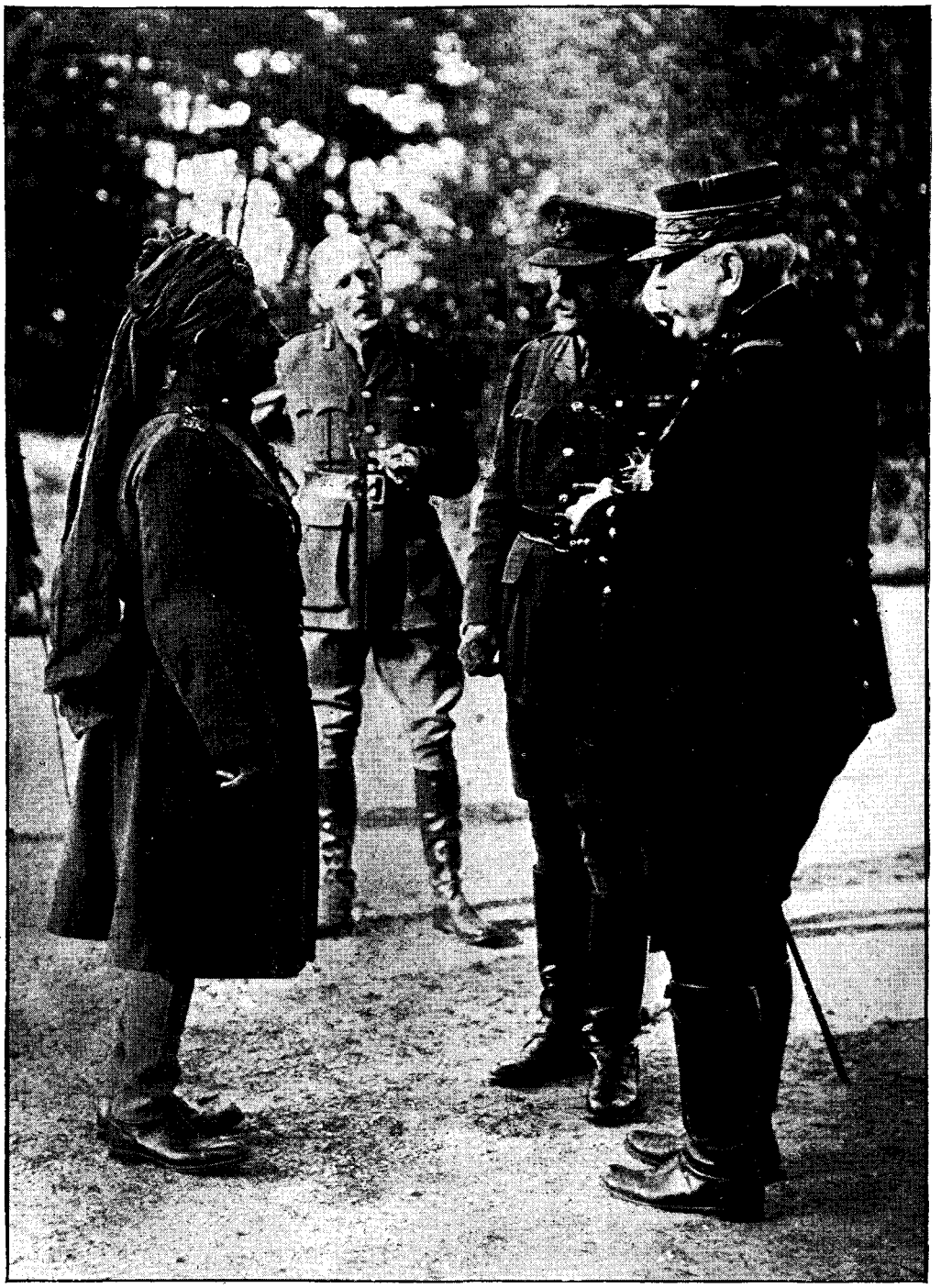

GENERAL SIR DOUGLAS HAIG INTRODUCING GENERAL JOFFRE TO SIR PERTAB SINGH, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE INDIAN FORCES

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WILLIAM D. MAHON
President of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees

WILLIAM B. FITZGERALD
Organizer of the Amalgamated Association

THE NEW YORK CITY CAR STRIKE—LABOR LEADERS

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PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL THOMPSON

THEODORE P. SHONTS, PRESIDENT OF THE INTERBOROUGH RAPID TRANSIT COMPANY AND OF THE NEW YORK RAILWAYS COMPANY

THE NEW YORK CITY CAR STRIKE—A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE RAILWAYS

Comment on the strike appears elsewhere in this issue

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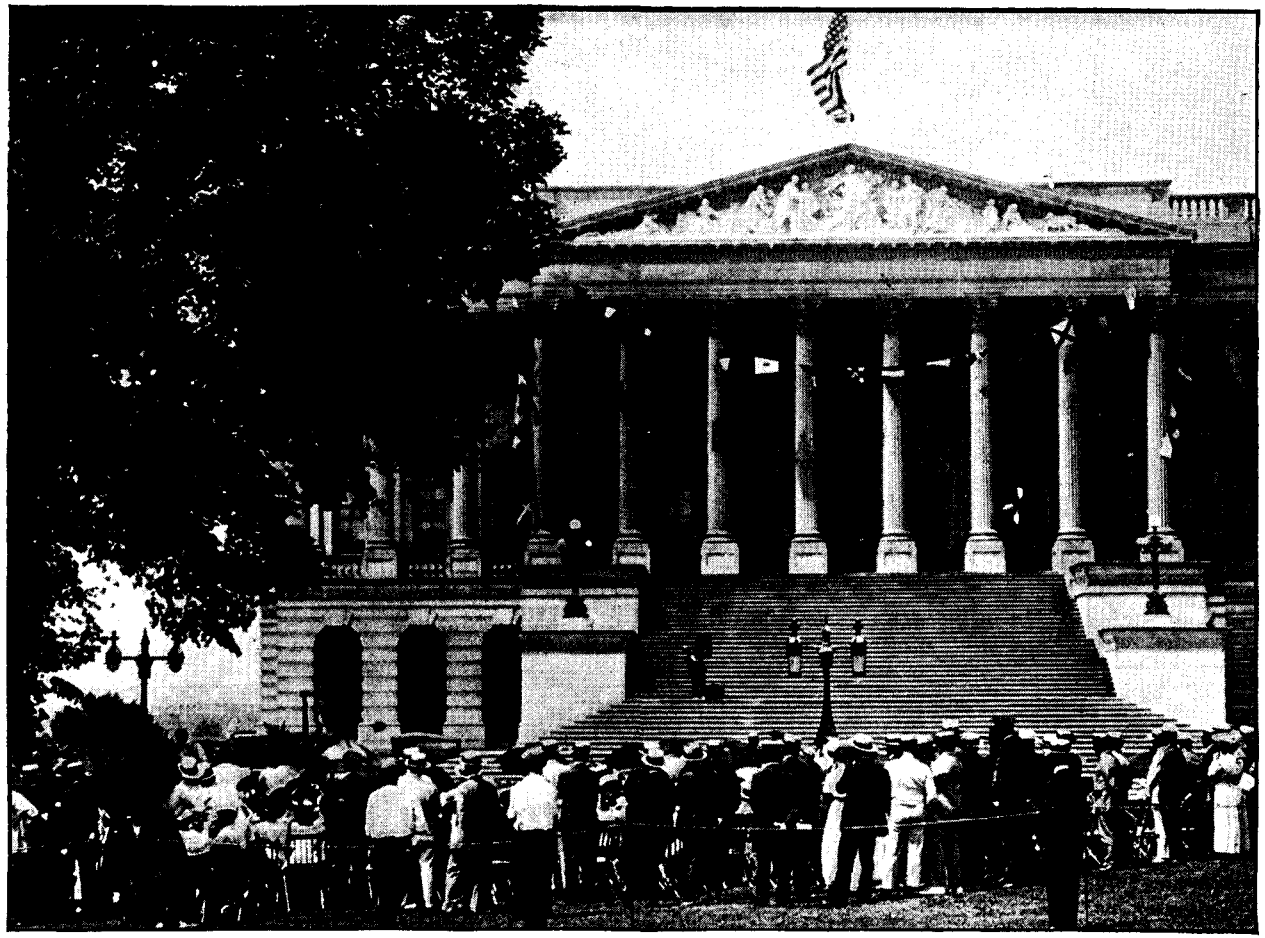

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SCULPTURES FOR THE PEDIMENT OF THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON

The completion of the House of Representatives wing of the Capitol, by the unveiling of the statues for the pediment, was signalized by appropriate ceremonies, including an address by Speaker Clark, of the House of Representatives. The statues are the work of Mr. Paul W. Bartlett

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World movement, the Colorado strike, the cloak and suit makers' strike in New York to-day, the Socialist party, the Cleveland platform of 1884, the Moyer-Haywood episode, the fight of Judge Lindsey for the children of Denver—these are threatening the very soul of our Nation. A sincere effort to remove these conditions is what we want any political party to stand for, even in the midst of a world war. In that lies our best preparation to meet any outside foe.

I do not say that the Democratic party will give us these things; but we have only two parties from which practical men can choose in November, and the history of the two parties leads me to believe that President Wilson and a Democratic Congress which is afraid to oppose him offer a better guarantee of progress toward industrial justice than Justice Hughes and a large element of standpat Republicans in Congress can likely secure.

MAX SOUBY,
Professor of History, Middle Tennessee State Normal School.

FRANCO-AMERICAN SYMPATHY

A SIGNIFICANT EXCHANGE OF NOTES ON THE WAR

SOME weeks ago a voluntary committee of gentlemen in Boston prepared an "Address to the People of the Allied Nations." It was signed by five hundred representative citizens living in all parts of the country from California to New York and from Louisiana to Maine.

The spirit and purpose of this Address are expressed in the following extract:

The main facts in the controversy have long been before us. The case of the Teutonic allies, especially, has not lacked fullness of statement. The ablest German publicists and professors have presented the Austro German contentions with great eloquence. Numerous German documents have been widely circulated, and an active and sometimes insidious German propaganda has been extensively carried on in the United States.

The American judgment has been deliberately formed, and it is based very largely on a study of German documents and of German statements as to the points at issue.

The signers of this document are not unmindful of the great contributions which Germany has in the past made to the common treasure of modern civilization; all of us acknowledge our debt to Germany; many of us have had the advantage of German education; some of us are of German blood. But the welfare of that civilization for which Germany has done so much, the highest interests of Germany herself, demand that in this conflict Germany and Austria shall be defeated. We confidently and hopefully look forward to that result.

The invasion of Belgium we regard as a crime which can never be justified. It will remain a blot upon the history of Europe. The conscience of the American people cries out and protests against outrages upon civilization committed by your enemies, and against their methods of warfare that break the international laws of nations and the moral laws of humanity.

The sanctity of treaties, the rights of small nations, the question as to whether militarism shall dominate civilization, are all involved in the final decision.

A peace which does not restore Belgium to the Belgian people and to their own government, which does not give them such indemnity as will allow them, so far as possible, to reconstruct their wasted cities and villages and restore again their ruined prosperity; a peace which does not recognize the rights of the smaller nationalities of Europe; a peace which does not offer some guaranty that such a calamity as the present war shall not recur—a peace which does not insure these things would be a disaster and not a blessing.

It is because we believe that the success of Great Britain, France, Italy, and Russia will mean the restoration of Belgium and of Servia and the suppression of militarism that we ardently hope for that consummation. In that hope we believe the future of civilization to be involved.

Many letters have been received by the original committee that prepared this Address showing that it has been received with grateful appreciation by those to whom it was sent. Paul Sabatier, the distinguished French author, wrote that he had read it to the peasants in the villages of his neighborhood, by whom it was eagerly listened to. "*Les Americains sont donc tout à fait commes nous!*" said the peasants, "Why, these Americans are just like us!" M. Sabatier wished it were possible to placard it in every commune in France.

Writing from England regarding the Address, Sir William Mather, the well-known

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authority on English industry and technical education, says :

I was extremely glad to have a copy of the now famous manifesto. It is a document that does honor to the heart and mind of America at the best. We have looked with yearning for all the sympathy and encouragement you can send us. We feel that any life given and any other sacrifice made in this titanic conflict of good against evil is—next to ourselves—offered up for America. The best books in defense of the Allies and their sacred cause have come from America; but also from America have come the threatened dangers of divided opinions in the absence of an official and authentic pronouncement of condemnation of the unequaled atrocities that have shocked the whole world outside the perpetrators' dominions. . . . Your manifesto was soothing and strengthening and we are deeply grateful to all who signed the message, and we know you have spoken for three-quarters of your great country.

The "Journal des Débats," one of the most influential journals of Paris, published the American Address in full with all its signatures. It was also published in many other French papers, and a résumé, with extracts of the more significant portions, was printed in one of the Flemish journals which circulates among the Belgians at the front. It has been translated and published in Italy and Russia as well as in France, and translated even into Japanese and widely circulated in Japan, where it was very cordially received, especially in official circles.

To the American Address the following Reply has now been made by a representative group of French citizens :

A FRENCH REPLY TO AN AMERICAN MESSAGE

We, the undersigned, to the number of five hundred, citizens of the French Republic, thank the five hundred citizens of the Republic of the United States of America for the noble message which they have addressed to the Allied peoples.

We take note with joy of this loyal collective declaration of your ardent sympathy with our cause, and of your reprobation of the methods of our adversaries in the conduct of the war.

We take note also that in your judgment—the judgment of free citizens of a free country having freely deliberated—you believe the American conscience ought not to be silent in the face of events which are of vital concern to the evolution of civilization and to international morality; and that this judgment has only been reached by you, representatives of the best of America, after a cool and thoughtful consideration of German documents.

We take note that in your eyes the invasion of Belgium is an unjustifiable crime and that all the outrages against civilization which preceded or followed it break international laws, the sacredness of treaties, the rights of small nations.

We take note that in your opinion a peace which should not re-establish Belgium in its prosperous independence; which should not liberate all the small and oppressed nationalities (and among these we include our loyal Alsace-Lorraine); which should not bring about the suppression of militarism, by which we understand that German militarism which is at this moment seeking to crush civilization; which, in a word, should not end in a victory for the ideals of the Allies, would be a disaster for civilization—that is to say also for America, the highest expression of whose civilization you represent.

We thank you with all our heart for having thus stated, in the name of the universal conscience, that we are struggling for right, justice, liberty, and for the preservation of the ideals of humanity from scientific barbarism.

We thank you for supporting us thus firmly loyally, and spontaneously, without hesitation, with all the earnestness of your hearts, and without reservation.

Not long ago France gave to the United States of America a colossal statue of Liberty. You placed it in New York at the entry of your greatest port, as a symbol of your history and your institutions.

A replica of this statue has been placed in Paris on the Seine in order to recall to the people of France all that our history and our institutions have in common with yours. Your message proves that our two nations have still the same ideal, and that to-day, as in the past, they are marching in the same way, and that the bonds which already united them have been drawn still closer.

In the name of all the French who have died for that ideal which is yours; in the name of all the French who suffer, unshakable, in order to save that ideal which is yours, the five hundred Frenchmen whose names follow have signed.

Among the five hundred men signing the French Reply are such statesmen as Clemenceau, Millerand, and Yves-Guyot; between fifty and sixty lawyers, such as Maître Labori, the well-known defender of Dreyfus; many judges of the higher courts; and such well-known artists, musicians, and literary men as Rodin, Rostand, Saint-Saëns, Debussy, Pierre Loti, Dagnan-Bouveret, René Doumic, Camille Flammarion, the Marquis de Vogüé, Anatole Le Braz, Salomon Reinach, Paul Sabatier, and André Tardieu.

Among the names appended to the Reply are those of between one hundred and fifty and two hundred distinguished professors, deans,

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rectors, and directors of universities and colleges all over France. Over fifty members of the Institute and sixteen members of the Academy are among the signers. There are also many officials, including mayors of cities, as well as presidents of Chambers of Commerce. Many physicians, scientific men, and clergy signed the Reply. Among the clergy are the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, the Cardinal Archbishop of Montpellier, many prominent Protestant clergymen, and eight of the leading Jewish rabbis.

WHY I AM A PATRIOT

BY ELIAS LIEBERMAN

The author of this article is an American of Russian-Jewish descent. He has been engaged in settlement work in New York City, and is a graduate of one of the New York boys' clubs. He has written both in verse and in prose. As a writer of verse he has forceful and original qualities. Some of his poems have appeared in The Outlook.—THE EDITORS.

RECENTLY I came across an article entitled "Why I Am Not a Patriot." It made me think deeply, because the author attempted to rationalize his point of view by ascribing the loftiest motives. His contention was that internationalism is a bigger thing than nationalism; that patriotism is hostile to the ultimate realization of the brotherhood of man; that patriotism and the flag represent things outworn in the evolution of man; that he did not purpose to become one of a big fighting mass to attack another big fighting mass with the individuals of which he had nothing at variance; that, in short, he did not believe in the limitations of country, and that most of the symbolism and sentiment associated with country is a species of self-hypnosis where it is not downright buncombe.

Because these views are presented under the cloak of the brotherhood of man they become far more dangerous than the usual querulous drivel of the wild-eyed visionary. Every one deep down in his heart hopes for the time when universal peace and the brotherhood of man will become realities. In view, then, of all our strivings and all our dreams, am I and others like me unprogressive stand-patters because we still feel the call of country? Are we merely obeying a primitive tribal instinct when we uncover before the flag?

On analyzing my own attitude (I hypothesized that I was not altogether the rubber-stamp of the ages, but capable of holding a point of view as well as some of my esteemed radical friends), I found that I accepted the dream but rejected the dreamer and condemned as chimerical the means he proposed to achieve it.

Internationalism, to my mind, will never become a reality until nationalism itself becomes moral, law-abiding, God-fearing. Students of history have long been cognizant of the fact that nations, as such, will tolerate and commit acts which would bring down upon individuals all the onus of a long-established system of jurisprudence. Are nations, then, imperfectly developed as they are at present, capable of joining together and losing their identity for the general good? No more than a group of selfish, egotistic, grasping men are able to form a society in which unselfishness, altruism, and generosity should be ruling principles.

What the so-called internationalists fail to do is to bridge the past and the present. They are much like infants grasping at the moon, beautiful, but far, far off. I asked one of them recently how he intended to achieve his goal. He tried very hard to tell me. His plan is somewhat as follows:

"For the sake of people like you," he said, "the schools would for a time continue inculcating patriotism; the flag would be saluted and the customary National airs sung. But all the ethical instruction in the class-room is to emphasize the brotherhood of man, the emptiness and madness of war. Children are to be taught that brass buttons are hateful, that in the bugle call lurks insanity and self-destruction. All pupils are to be shown that man is man the world over, whatever his race, color, or creed. Horror of war is to be presented so strongly and the brotherhood of man preached so eloquently as to make the waging of war on our part for aggression, or even for defense, impossible."

"What would you do if another country

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with a strong military organization invaded ours?" I asked.

"Nothing. There would be no bloodshed. They would occupy our territory peacefully."

"Suppose their standards of living, their civilization, their civic organization, were all retrogressive, of a kind that we had discarded long ago—would you give up all that the centuries had built up for us without the slightest struggle?"

"In time they would assimilate the best we offer. At least there would be no bloodshed. Not a single human being would be torn to pieces by shrapnel. What a wonderful moral example for the rest of the world!"

"But suppose your conquerors are ruthless, arrogant, brutal. Suppose you are deprived of all your present rights, liberties, and privileges."

"That cannot last forever. At least there will be no bloodshed."

The underlying notion there seems to be that human life is paramount. This many of us are unwilling to admit. There are things in life greater than life itself. Many a physician working in his laboratory exposes himself for the good of mankind to great dangers. Even in times of peace the sacrifice of life for the attainment of one's ideals occurs frequently. Are we to admit with our pacifist friend that, where it is a question between life and ideals, the latter should perish?

I have tried to state his point of view fairly. In what way does it differ from the education of the Chinese youngster of ancient days? He, too, was taught that force is weakness and that brute strength is a disgrace. Such a system of training has not helped China. It is to-day a pale, tottering giant at the mercy of all buffets. Had China been able to prevail on the rest of the world to follow a similar course, perhaps we should have attained the millennium. Deeply as I respect the basic ideals underlying such practice, I cannot sanction the means used to realize them. They lead to chaos, anarchy, world disorder.

Is it possible to synchronize the acceptance of anti-war propaganda throughout the world? Is it possible to make all nations at exactly the same time adopt a policy of non-resistance? If that could be done, I should at once become an utter pacifist instead of believing, as I must to-day, that there are conditions under which war—curse of humanity that it admittedly is—would have to be a last resort; conditions making it imperative to accept either pacifism and a crumbling civilization or war and a possible redemption of mankind.

In our country to-day we are carrying on a gigantic experiment in democracy, the rule of the people. We have demonstrated that such a government may be stable and that the whip of absolute monarchy is not indispensable for stability. We are fostering a system of popular education which offers to all men wonderful opportunities. If a child is not born with a silver spoon in his mouth, he at least may have the rainbow in his eyes. Even our Presidents have come from lowly homes as well as from the mansions of the wealthy. Our civil service system, based on merit, offers to all a chance to serve the country in manifold capacities. Eligibility for these positions does not require any set religion, any prescribed caste, color, or race. Our laws are framed to protect the individual as a man irrespective of his social status. We have no censorship of speech nor of the press. Even attacks against the Government of a treasonable nature have sometimes gone unpunished.

This National system, with its wonderful possibilities, I am not willing to surrender peacefully to any one who may threaten me with a mailed fist. I am not willing to relinquish "all that we have and are" for the bloody systems of the Old World which crush, restrain, and destroy individuality, and in which a privilege is a bone thrown to a dog. I am not ready to give up the title of citizen and become a subject—literally, a thing to step on. I am panic-stricken when I think of losing the priceless heritage which more than one hundred years of slow constructive work have left for me.

I believe that the future of all races lies at present in the individual unit, the nation; that as the nation becomes more and more honest, tolerant, God-fearing (or conscience-fearing, if you will), it will be in a better position to serve mankind. I believe that every individual in the national unit must consecrate himself to a policy of purification from within. The moral force exerted by millions of patriots towards righteousness would make not for self-aggrandizement, but for self-respect. We could not then say to other nations: "We are stronger than you are, therefore our culture is better than yours. You must accept it." We should rather say: "Brother, there are many com-

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mon evils in existence, war among them. Let us unite to wipe them out." The only supremacy which our Nation would seek is a supremacy of service, and that arouses among other nations no bitterness, no antagonism, no jealousy.

Patriotism to-day is a more sacred duty than ever—not the jingoistic, war-breeding kind, but patriotism inspired by the highest ethical ideals of conduct toward the rest of mankind and toward our own self-development. Such patriotism is stimulating to our National leaders and statesmen. Inevitably it must bridge the frightful gap which exists at present between *vox populi*, as the lords of misrule seem to hear it, and *vox Dei*, interpreted to mean, "peace on earth, good will to men."

THE UNITED STATES PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

BY EZRA KIMBALL SPRAGUE, M.D.

The author of this article has been connected with the United States Public Health Service in one form or another for over twenty years. He was engaged in the Hygienic Laboratory work for three years; was in charge of the Tuberculosis Laboratory at Fort Stanton, New Mexico, for one year; was detailed at Antwerp, Belgium, in 1900 to guard against the introduction of cholera into the United States; and was detailed in Calcutta, India, in 1903 to inspect ships bound for the United States and issue bills of health as a protection measure against the plague. He was the Chief Line Officer at Ellis Island, New York Harbor, for six years, and the remainder of his Service life has been spent in marine hospitals and quarantine stations.—THE EDITORS.

THE United Public Health Service assumes control of the New York Quarantine Station; and, reading a printed note to that effect the following morning, a few people ask, What is the Public Health Service? and straightway forget the question and unsatisfactory answer. Governor Whitman evidently knew; otherwise he would not have requested from the President the loan of a Health Service man as Health Officer of the Port of New York, who has been given control of the largest quarantine establishment in the world, and the most important from a health standpoint to the people of New York and to the Nation. The medical examination of fifteen hundred thousand persons annually is fraught with considerable responsibility. Typhus fever, which ravaged Servia to the extent that the living could not care for the dead, is still prevalent at many points from which our immigrants came before the war. The scattered cases that have thus far arrived at the port of New York have been detected; but with the close of the European war hordes will be released to flock to our shores, and a vigilant inspection must be maintained if we are to escape the scourge.

Disease is no respecter of State lines; and quarantine has always been National in its effect, as it now is in fact. When the Philippines came into our possession, smallpox and cholera were epidemic, and bubonic plague came from China the following year. An officer was detailed to assume charge of the health work in the islands and establish quarantine. Cholera shortly thereafter disappeared, smallpox is now at an irreducible minimum, and plague is rarely seen.

The Service now has fifty-six quarantine stations on our own coasts, twenty-six in our insular possessions, and has an officer in charge of the quarantine work on the Isthmus of Panama. The vigilant sanitary inspection maintained in the ports of the West Indies, South America, Europe, and Asia facilitates the movement of commerce and, still further, protects the public health.

What the Public Health Service can accomplish when demands are made upon it is well known to the people of San Francisco. They have not forgotten that only a few years ago they had on their hands an epidemic of bubonic plague, one of the most mortal of communicable diseases; that State and municipal authorities were unable to handle the situation; and that cases were beginning to appear outside of Chinatown, where the outbreak first occurred.

Upon the request of the Governor of California, Dr. Rupert Blue, now Surgeon-

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General, was detailed to assume charge of the epidemic, with a view to accomplish its final eradication. Acting upon knowledge, then new to the medical profession, that bubonic plague was conveyed to man by the bite of a flea that had already gorged himself upon a rat or other rodent suffering from the disease, by trapping, poisoning, and rat-proofing the original cause of the epidemic was eliminated in a comparatively short time. The quiet, competent, and thorough manner in which the work was undertaken soon resulted in the restoration of confidence. There has not been a case of human plague in San Francisco for eight years, and it is more than seven years since the last infected rat was found.

To complicate the situation in California, the ground squirrel, a ubiquitous burrowing rodent, contracted the plague from his cousin the rat. The bestowal of this legacy was not recognized until the flea, in the usual manner, conveyed the infection to the ranchmen. Investigation revealed the fact that there were plague-stricken squirrels in eleven counties, covering an area of nearly twenty-two thousand square miles. By a most painstaking search the infected areas were located, and, by trapping, shooting, and poisoning, the agents in transmission were so reduced that only five human cases have yet occurred; and it is thought that shortly all danger will have been removed. That there was a serious menace is shown by the fact that nearly two thousand plague-stricken squirrels have thus far been found. Protective measures are still enforced along the Pacific coast.

The knowledge that yellow fever is conveyed to man by the bite of a female mosquito (*Aëdes calopus*) that has previously fed upon a person suffering with the disease gave rise to another unique record in medical history. In 1905 an epidemic broke out in New Orleans. At the request of the Governor of Louisiana, Service officers assumed charge, directing their entire efforts to the destruction of mosquitoes by draining and oiling their breeding-places. This intelligent handling of the situation, the destruction of the conveying insect, together with the effectual screening of the sick from the mosquito, arrested the spread of the disease before the first frost.

The Hygienic Laboratory at Washington, with a working force of thirty-seven officers and technical assistants, operating under the advice and counsel of eight of the ablest representatives of the medical profession, is utilized as a training-school for officers of the Service to further prepare them for dealing with questions of public health. Many municipal officials recommended by the health officer of their respective States are freely availing themselves of the advantages of this course of instruction.

Studies of hookworm, leprosy, typhoid fever, pellagra, measles, rabies, infantile paralysis, and other diseases are in progress; and many valuable additions have accrued to our knowledge as to their cause and prevention. All the work of the laboratory is directed toward the conservation of the public health, and all these investigations are not confined to one institution. There are fifteen public health laboratories at different stations, each one of which is engaged in the solution of its own problems.

Biological establishments in this and foreign countries must receive the license of the Public Health Service before they are allowed to sell viruses, serums, toxins, and analogous products in the United States. There are now more than sixty such products on our markets.

An officer qualified by training and years of experience annually inspects every establishment producing these biological products.

In case a manufacturer comes under suspicion or is being investigated, until all questions are favorably settled samples of each batch of every product are sent to the Hygienic Laboratory, and before sales from that lot can be made the firm must have the official approval of the Laboratory for its disposal. A violation of this rule would be promptly penalized by the withdrawal of the license.

Samples are also secured at frequent intervals in open market, and any bacteriological contamination or departure from standard is promptly investigated. That the law is enforced is shown by the fact that last year three licenses were withdrawn, ten were suspended for various reasons, and eight applicants were refused licenses. For commercial reasons, no publicity can be given these actions; but the protection which they afford is none the less real.

During the thirteen years that the law has been in force sufficient vaccine virus has been examined to vaccinate two million children; and this was a large percentage of all that has been marketed. There has resulted a marked improvement in quality, and the dangers

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from its use, if there be any, have been reduced to the minimum. Whenever cases of lockjaw or other infection following vaccination have been brought to the attention of the Surgeon-General, thorough investigation has promptly followed; and in no instance could it be shown that the unfortunate result was attributable to the vaccine.

Surgeon-General Blue, in discussing rural sanitation, said: "If military preparedness is desired, it is of prime importance that the physical efficiency standard of our rural population, the bone and sinew of the race, be raised and maintained at its maximum."

The Service has made a beginning in this important work by conducting sanitary surveys of counties in various States to determine the best methods to employ under widely varying conditions. These surveys comprise the visiting of every house, the observing of sanitary conditions, the giving of instruction for the abatement of nuisances, and the free distribution of public health literature.

Each house is later revisited; the improvements are noted and the householders are stimulated to further activity. Illustrated public lectures are given as conditions indicate. Endeavors are made, usually successfully, to interest the influential people and fraternal organizations of the neighborhood. The municipal authorities are encouraged to enact ordinances for the proper disposition of waste, for the prevention of fly-breeding, for the protection of food, and for the safeguarding of the water supply. There have been observed as a result of these surveys: a decided improvement in the methods of disposal of waste; dining-rooms and kitchens are screened; and sensible precautionary measures are practiced in cases of communicable disease. In one county there was a reduction of the cases of typhoid fever from two hundred and forty-nine in 1913 to forty in 1914; in another county the deaths from the same disease fell from twenty to three; and along with this reduction there came a corresponding decrease in other filth-born diseases.

The fact is not generally appreciated that country children are physically inferior to those reared in our cities; but investigation has shown that children in the rural districts suffer decidedly more frequently from malnutrition, disease of the lungs, heart, eyes, ears, and from adenoids than do city children. Many of those defects are attributable to unsanitary surroundings in the little red schoolhouse. How lacking these educational centers are in playgrounds, heating, lighting, ventilation, seating arrangements, sewage disposal, and lavatories many of us know only too well. To overcome these deficiencies, almost invariably due to lack of skilled advice, and with the hope of affording the country child the benefit of his otherwise heathful surroundings, the attention of several of the Service's ablest officers, under the leadership of Surgeon Clark, is directed to school hygiene.

This work is in the truest sense educational, beginning as it does at the very foundation. It has not yet been carried to the extent that remarkable results can be claimed, but the field gives promise sufficiently encouraging to warrant a more intensive cultivation.

While the life of a miner is attended with many risks, it has long been recognized that sickness and death are unnecessarily frequent among this class of laborers. With a view of correcting the evils giving rise to this needless toll in human life, an officer has been detailed to observe conditions and to formulate methods for their improvement. It is found that there are practically no precautions taken against the inhalation of dust, that little attention is paid to the quality of drinking water, and that many habits and customs are contrary to the simplest laws of health.

An educational campaign has been inaugurated. X-ray pictures are taken showing the effects of flint dust in the lungs, and in lectures illustrated by stereopticon views and moving pictures the hazards daily incurred are vividly portrayed to the miners. The result is that in many localities the laborers have organized for the betterment of conditions, and in one State, Missouri, a law has been passed enforcing the sprinkling of mines, prohibiting dust-producing habits, forbidding the use of the common drinking-cup, and compelling the construction and use of houses for baths and a change of clothing at the close of the day's work.

When educational work was started among the natives of Alaska by the Bureau of Education, it was at once recognized that health conditions were alarming, and, if the schools were not to close from loss of pupils, measures must be taken to reduce the death rate.

Comparison of the United States Census Report for 1900 and 1910 revealed the fact that in ten years the native population had fallen from 29,536 to 25,331—a decrease of

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4,205, or 14.5 per cent. An officer of the Public Health Service was detailed to investigate conditions and formulate plans for improved sanitation. It was found that nearly fifteen per cent were afflicted with some form of tuberculosis, and that about one-half of the cases were in the active stage.

Surgeon Krulish has expressed the opinion that if tuberculosis is not materially reduced in the near future the native population of Alaska will be exterminated in from sixty to seventy years. Diseases of the eye are common, and there are many cases of blindness. Epidemics of scarlet fever, measles, influenza, whooping-cough, and diphtheria are not infrequent, and the mortality is high, owing in a great measure to complications from lack of proper care and attention.

Evidences of good results are gradually accumulating. It has been found that, while the Alaskan will die promptly from untreated consumption, if he be given the advantages of pure food, good hygiene, open air, and rest, he responds with surprising rapidity. He is sociable, fond of folk-dances and other gatherings; he will travel long distances to attend a function; he mingles freely with the white race—all of which makes him a source of grave danger in the spread of a communicable disease.

In 1911 Surgeon Foster concluded from church records that during the preceding seven years there had been an average annual decrease in the native population of Sitka of 13 per 1,000. During the year 1912 the decrease was only 5.3 per 1,000. This improvement, the direct result of intelligent effort, demonstrates the feasibility of the work and leads to the conclusion that, given the opportunity, the Alaskan will respond to the betterment of his environment.

The examination of arriving aliens conducted by the Service at fifty-three stations along the coasts and borders to determine the mental and physical qualifications of immigrants resulted in the exclusion of a large number of cases of loathsome, dangerous, and communicable diseases, as well as of many aliens because of various physical defects which affect their ability to earn a living. During the year 1914 1,274 insane and mentally defective were debarred. The importance of preventing the entrance of this last class of individuals arises from the fact that they reproduce their kind indefinitely, and our present annual expense of $100,000,000 in caring for the mental defectives ought not to be increased. Too high a value cannot be placed on this work; and it is gratifying to be able to state that this phase of the examination of immigrants is receiving the attention which it merits.

Trachoma is a dangerous communicable disease of the eyelids which, if untreated, leads to permanently impaired vision in about ten per cent of the cases and to blindness in not a few. For years this malady has existed unrecognized in the lower Appalachian Mountains. Under the efficient management of Surgeon John McMullin, an active anti-trachoma campaign has been in progress for the past two years. Three trachoma hospitals have been established in Kentucky, one in Virginia, and shortly another will be in operation in West Virginia. Twelve thousand patients have been treated in these hospitals during the past year, each one of whom was told of the dangerous communicable nature of his ailment and instructed in practical means of preventing its spread to his associates.

Numerous illustrated lectures have been delivered; literature portraying the dangers of trachoma, how to guard against contracting the disease, and giving instructions for the afflicted have been widely distributed; many local physicians have received special instructions in the treatment of this disease.

An important result of this work has been the enactment by the Kentucky Legislature of a bill creating schools in each county for the instruction of doctors, health officers, nurses, and midwives in the most approved methods of preventing communicable eye diseases.

Pellagra, while a disease of world-wide distribution, was first recognized in this country only a few years ago. That it deserved serious attention is shown by the fact that during the calendar year 1914, in Mississippi, with a population of 1,900,000, there were 12,000 cases of pellagra, with 1,200 deaths. Active investigation as to the cause and prevention of this disease was instituted by the Public Health Service. Surgeon Goldberger has demonstrated that it is due to an insufficient proteid diet, and he conclusively proved that when the patients are placed upon full rations the symptoms are relieved, not to return. He has gone even further by producing the disease in convicts (who voluntarily offered themselves for experimentation, with freedom as a reward) by feeding them a diet from which nitrogenous substances and fats were practically eliminated.

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An estimate of the importance of this work is well phrased by the "Journal of the American Medical Association" when it says, editorially: "In view of the increasing prevalence of pellagra and the fact that over seventy-five hundred people in the United States will die from the disease during the present calendar year, the value of the studies from both public health and economic standpoints may be compared to those of the discovery of the relations of diet to beriberi or the mosquito to the transmission of yellow fever."

At Fort Stanton, New Mexico, the Service conducts a tuberculosis sanitarium for the care of sailors afflicted with that disease. There, under ideal climatic conditions, about one hundred and fifty unfortunates are annually sent to receive, at no personal expense, the benefit of the most approved treatment. Tuberculosis is a highly communicable disease under the conditions in which seamen live aboard ship. The removal of the cases from the ship, together with the inspection and disinfection of the forecastle, results in a decided lessening of danger from this loathsome disease.

Malaria, an entirely preventable disease, may attack nearly one million of our people this summer, with a consequent loss in earnings and expense of $100,000,000. The anopheles mosquito is the sole agent in the conveyance of the parasite from one person to another, and with the destruction of these carriers the disease will disappear. Under the direction of Assistant Surgeon-General Carter, extensive operations in draining, filling, oiling, and stocking bodies of water with top-feeding minnows are in progress in many localities in the South. In countries in which these preventive measures have been in progress one season a reduction of two-thirds in the number of cases has followed. As a result, several Southern States are carrying out drainage projects for the protection of the public health, and Tennessee has appropriated $400,000 for the purpose. Large areas of most fertile land will be reclaimed; and they will be cultivated with complete freedom from malaria, which has hitherto rendered them almost unapproachable.

The performance of all these functions has not been unattended with danger. Eleven officers, eight of whom are now living, have contracted tuberculosis in the line of duty. Yellow fever, fortunately now robbed of its terrors, claimed its victims in former years; six officers died while fighting epidemics, two were killed by accident, and ten were stricken but recovered.

In one of our National cemeteries there stands a monument to an officer said to have been the only physician who remained in the town after the presence of yellow fever was declared.

Surgeon-General Rupert Blue, who has just been reappointed after the completion of a four-year period of duty, during which the work of the Public Health Service has increased as never before in its history, says:

"The public health movement has acquired such momentum that it cannot be arrested. If the needs and demands of the people are to be met, Congress must awaken to the necessity of increasing the commissioned corps by an addition of two hundred officers.

"It has been demonstrated that the rural communities can be almost freed of typhoid fever, that the incidence of malaria can be greatly reduced, and that the general death rate can be appreciably lowered. To this end it is necessary that publicity appropriations be increased. At present the Service is limited to an edition of five thousand for its educational publications; ten thousand are not infrequently demanded.

"By concrete example the people at large —not a few scattered counties—must be shown that tuberculosis, malaria, and typhoid fever are a needless drain upon their vitality."

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THE OUTLOOK AND THE FRESHMAN

BY HIRAM R. WILSON

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Although Professor Wilson used The Outlook as the instrument in what is really an educational laboratory experiment, we print his article, which comes to us unsolicited, because the experiment shows how cultural education may be made truly vocational. The method so successfully adopted by Professor Wilson does not, of course, depend upon the particular periodical employed, although we cannot help being gratified that he has found The Outlook especially suited to this work. A factor far more important than the periodical chosen for this method of teaching current history is the spirit of the teacher.—THE EDITORS.

ONE day last fall when the newspapers were heavy with inky headlines about Bulgaria's entrance into the war I took occasion to ask a class of forty representative freshmen in English composition whether they could tell me the relation of that country to the various belligerents. Not one could tell; not one would venture a guess. The unanimity of the class was so marked that I made bold to ask whether Greece was involved, what the attitude of Italy was, what nations were allied, etc. The lack of response was still depressing. A small number were correct in their knowledge of the alignment of the major nations, but the entire class were not at all clear. There was much haziness. It was apparent to the freshmen that the incident needed no comment. Later, the same questions were put to a class composed chiefly of juniors and seniors. Although the results were more encouraging, yet many of the members were as much at sea as the freshmen. The upper class men were visibly embarrassed.

Many times within my career as a teacher of college men and women I have been impressed with the lack of perspective and with the misplacement of emphasis in their intellectual activity; but never before did this so keenly force itself upon me. Why should students be engrossed in the study of matters of dead fact, of past history, or of English composition, and remain ignorant of the pulsating, ever-teeming life movements about them? Is not such a situation rather a deplorable contradiction? Straightway I resolved upon some work of the home-missionary type. The freshmen subscribed for The Outlook.

Ordinarily teachers are unable to bring a student to realize the importance of knowing the immediate world of which he constitutes a vital part and with which he sustains a tremendously intimate relation. He takes the wisdom of Greece and Rome and the various other offerings of the curriculum in a matter-of-fact manner; does his minimum of work in the hope of securing his maximum of credit. In a word, he is imbued with the spirit characteristic of the American college—the spirit resulting from an over-anxiety to "democratize education." He unfortunately becomes the victim of his college training. Such a condition demands relentless vigilance on the teacher's part. The student must be made to feel that it is the purpose of the college to educate him into life rather than out of it. He must be led to vitalize what he knows by giving it a meaning and a point of contact. Furthermore, he must never become too busy to take cognizance of the significance and purport of current history.

Prior to the adoption of The Outlook as a part of the regular class equipment the enthusiasm in oral composition was decidedly indifferent. The student felt a sense of artificiality in his efforts; it was a make-believe performance. However vigorously I might try to put spirit into the recitation, I always had a feeling that something was plainly lacking, and that consequently the period had been a failure. With the use of The Outlook a new life was diffused throughout the oral work. The students had something real to talk about. It was not necessary to resort to topics of questionable interest or of hypothetical importance to supply the working material for the recitation period; here such material was in "The News of the Week." This portion of the magazine constituted the basis for procedure, and was specified as the minimum requirement. Although the longer articles were not usually assigned, the students were urged to read as many of them as their time for preparation might permit. Frequently some of the more "re-

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acting" members read the issue from cover to cover and found much pleasure in so doing.

In the presentation of his subject the student was encouraged to express his own opinions of the editorial or article under consideration. It was not enough that he merely recount what The Outlook had offered in the way of narration of fact or in exposition or in argumentation. What did the *student* think about the problems before Congress, the Mexican situation, the prosecution of Mr. Osborne, the subject of preparedness, etc.? And it is needless to add that some of the discussions offered a chance for great animation, frequently culminating in a direct clash of opinions between the members. More often, however, the young people were easily and quickly influenced by whatever article they had chosen to speak upon and made its ideas their own.

Much of the interest awakened was no doubt due to the fact that The Outlook comes weekly. There are some instructors who favor a monthly publication, but my experience with The Outlook confirms me in my preference for the magazine that appears each week. The love for the new, for the change of scenes, is a psychological principle that operates strongly in the minds of freshmen. There was nothing in the weekly issue to grow stale; each number brought its wide range of interests, and was even looked forward to with no little eagerness. If it were necessary for us to follow the same general subject over a period of two or three weeks, new interest always arose because of the changes or developments in the event under treatment. The topic was always fresh.

In several ways the results were gratifying. First, in matters of mere information on current questions the class had emerged from its almost total darkness into light. No longer was any one in ignorance or doubt about Bulgaria's part in the war or about that of any other nation. Rather was it to be observed that many of the students displayed a knowledge of even minor events that was reasonably accurate and comprehensive.

Secondly, The Outlook afforded the students an example of a high standard of literary workmanship. To point out to a class the operations of certain fundamental principles of composition as found, for instance, in Newman, Macaulay, or Ruskin, makes only a passing impression upon the young mind. Students take such things as a matter of course. They feel that Newman, Macaulay, and Ruskin are remote; that anything pertaining to them is so much past literary history or achievement. But when they have before them the pages of an influential periodical giving evidence of high merit in these same principles of usage, composition, and style, the efforts of the teacher are enforced with a new effectiveness. One day we spent half a period in examining the composition of the article "What Would Roosevelt Have Done?" Attention was directed to its beginning, its ending, its arrangement, its sentence length, its thought development. Every principle that I had been recently trying to present in the minimum theory of the course was exemplified in the article. This gave me a new leverage.

Thirdly, I believe that because of the pleasure and profit the young people have realized by systematically following The Outlook many will be impelled to form the habit of reading it or some similar publication. The acquaintance with its contents gave them such a source of satisfaction that they will never be indifferent to its value. They will carry with them an appreciation of its editorial worth, its versatility, and its sensible idealism.

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THE LAST GASP OF "VOLUNTARYISM"

BY CAPTAIN C. L. HALL, U. S. A.

THE life of a soldier, independent of its emoluments, has never been, and never will be, sufficiently alluring to attract any very great number of persons. While modern legislation and thought and modern recognition of the importance of intelligence in the private soldier have tended to make his career absolutely more pleasant, the amelioration of life among all classes, coupled with the increasing complexity of the profession, have probably combined to make it relatively less agreeable. Consequently all nations that have desired to maintain a military force have been compelled to resort to special means to recruit it.

Leaving out of account classical armies, which have historical interest but no historical connection, we may begin our survey of the history of recruiting at the feudal stage. At that time society and land ownership were organized on a strictly hierarchical basis and each landholder owed certain dues to his liege lord, among them service in time of war. These feudal troops were organized in a manner that, in many respects, commands our admiration to-day. They were territorially recruited; the officers were the persons of natural importance in the community; every man had excellent reasons to shine in the eyes of his immediate superior. In a rural state, as slavery disappeared and peasant proprietorship became the rule, this system became universal service or its equivalent.

Side by side with these feudal forces there grew up another and more democratic kind of army. The early cities won their charters from the lords of the fee, usually by purchase; but they quickly realized that charters were soon forgotten if they were not maintained by force. Consequently the city system of service soon became one wherein each citizen, as a duty inherent in his right of suffrage, became liable as a member of the city army. We see these old city armies in the "trained bands" of London at the time of the Great Rebellion.

Both the feudal and municipal forces began to introduce economic rather than patriotic methods of recruiting at an early date. As landholders and burgesses became more prosperous and fonder of ease, they cast about for a way to rid themselves of their military burdens, and they found it in hiring some member of the growing floating population to do their duty for them. This is what we are doing now. The process was hastened among feudal armies in several ways. In the first place, an able and unscrupulous prince could make war pay on its own account out of his neighbor's possessions. He could soon see that a small body of professionals, well trained, was of more value than a considerable number of amateurs. By skillful use this force could be made to pay its own way. Also it was wholly dependent on him, and he did not have to deal with individuals through intermediary suzerains. Moreover (and we Americans may well remember this), it was wholly unconscious of any rights belonging to its princes' subjects, and could be relied on to support its prince against the feudal privileges of the lower proprietors. If we add the fact that the farmers themselves were frequently perfectly willing to pay extra taxes rather than perform service, the temptation to a mercenary force became irresistible. Probably the last feudal army that fought in Europe was the Pretender's Highlanders. The advantages and disadvantages of this force are graphically portrayed by Macaulay.

Another reason for the introduction of mercenary troops in the cities was the growth in them of a large and habitually discontented population of persons who were not citizens at all, but denizens. These people were more numerous than the voting burgesses, and needed some kind of standing force to keep them in order. Considering also the natural superiority of professionals to amateurs and the increasing wealth and reluctance to discomfort of the citizens, we can easily see why city armies tended promptly to become mercenaries. The Roman cycle repeated itself.

Probably, however, the most potent cause of disintegration of the feudal and patriotic armies was the growing power of the national sovereign. He usually had funds wherewith to raise purely professional forces. They owed no sort of allegiance to the inferior landlords and were subject to unity of control.

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Man for man, they were naturally superior to the untrained levies, and this superiority increased enormously when warfare became more mechanical. In skillfully playing one prince against the other they were a valuable and easily shifted weight in the scales. After all the rivals were destroyed they became an irresistible force in politics. Add the growing unpopularity of the feudal rule of service and the fact that as national power increased so also did public order, and we can readily see why armies became national forces, recruited by means wholly different from a reliance on the subjects' natural allegiance.

Curiously enough, the doctrine of service owed persisted in England long after it had disappeared, and even been stamped out, on the Continent. This was largely due to the regulation of William the Conqueror that all proprietors should take an oath of allegiance to the sovereign as well as to their immediate suzerain. Under such a system the sovereign had no such direct interest in abolishing compulsory service as he had elsewhere, and the military advantages of unity of command inhered in the system. Furthermore, it was comparatively simple to shift the doctrine from service owed on account of land tenure to service owed on account of citizenship. As the English towns never had any independent political existence, no fearful bands of city-paid mercenaries grew up, and after the Armada the island was comparatively free from fear of invasion. The system fell into desuetude, but it never died. Feudal levies were called out only in time of danger. When the country was not in danger for long periods, nobody knew much about warfare, and the mechanical advances in the art made this ignorance more fatal. Several steps, all invariably futile, were taken to correct this ignorance, such as occasional training of various sorts, though no one seems to have thought of the idea of a permanent skeleton with a variable body capable of expansion in time of war. Very old men in this country can still remember general muster day. Our Militia Act of 1903 contains a provision that "the unorganized militia consists of all the able-bodied male citizens between eighteen and forty-five." The *posse comitatus* is a direct descendant of the Anglo-Saxon levies called into being by the appearance of viking corsairs.

At any rate, forces raised by a doctrine of moral obligation pure and simple began to fade from the Continent at the accession of the house of Valois, or even earlier if we count the Italian republics, and had nearly disappeared south of Scandinavia when Henry IV ascended the throne of France and the levies of Navarre returned to their homes in the Pyrenees. At first the troops raised by economic means were foreigners. These men owed allegiance to their paymasters, and no one else. Readers of "Quentin Durward" can remember the Scottish Archers of Louis XI. To them all inferior suzerains were not only a matter of indifference, but frequently also a natural object of hostility. When the great landlords were crushed, and people generally began to regard their national allegiance as more vital than their feudal, the necessity for foreigners disappeared. Moreover, the foreign mercenaries were usually overbearing and unpopular, demanded the increased pay ordinarily called for by exiles, and were sometimes, though very rarely, disposed to use their power to increase their wages. In military history the last expiring gasp of the foreign hired soldier system was the defense by the Swiss of 1792 at the Tuileries. However, one can hardly call hired foreigners entirely obsolete. The Légion Étranger still fights in Flanders. The Swiss Guards of the Vatican recall the days when the subjects of the Vicar of Christ were the most irreconcilable and unruly in the world. When sovereigns began to hire soldiers, their funds were derived in three ways: (*a*) By commutation of the ancient feudal aids; (*b*) by conversion of the spoils of war; (*c*) by additional direct taxation. The soldier's interest in his trade was kept up (*a*) by pay received from his sovereign; (*b*) by loot; (*c*) by the love of adventure. When subjects were substituted for foreigners, no change was made in either system, but nevertheless the system had to be altered gradually. The feudal aids and the direct taxation lost their separate identity. In time of peace there were no spoils of war, and in time of war spoils were likely to be an uncertain quantity. It was seen that looting soldiers rapidly lost discipline, and consequently efficiency. The adventures of a soldier's life in time of peace are not lurid at all; and with the mechanical advances in warfare they became (after "the bands began to play") altogether too lurid for comfort, so the raising of armies became a question of getting money from the nation somehow and then hiring the soldiers in the open labor market at the cheapest possible

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rates. This method, the so-called voluntary system, is still pursued by our country.

The soldier's labor contract differs from all other modern contracts for personal service in that not only can it be enforced, but it can be enforced by special tribunals devised to obtain results promptly. Hence there grew up at a very early date, and there has continued in force to this day, the notion that desertion is a horrible crime, meriting severe punishment. On a calm, logical examination of the methods of enlistment in the light of modern thought, the notion is not easily defended, but it is justified by the logic of cold facts. The soldiers' inherent power is naturally great, and with the increasing technicalities of warfare it tends to become greater. Strikes are at no time very pleasant things. Soldiers' strikes, from the death of Commodus on, have been regarded as the limit of horror. Man does in war what he is taught in peace. A soldiers' strike in time of war would disrupt a nation. Consequently civilized states regard any remedy, however inherently bad, as infinitely better than the disease. If service rested on the moral obligation of citizenship, desertion would evidently be a natural crime, as it would be an evasion by a person manifestly benefited by the state of his obligation as a member thereof. The treatment of a breach of labor contract as a felony is one of the necessary and unavoidable consequences of the "voluntary" system of military service.

Military service did not long remain purely voluntary, even if we regard as voluntary service that performed under an irrevocable contract, made under the stress of economic compulsion. As the sovereign's direct power over his subjects increased, he desired to reduce the soldier's pay and obtain his men at a less rate than that which the same man's service could command in the open labor market. This was partly done by inducements not having an easily estimated money value. Such were promises to pension after a certain amount of service or in case of disability; promise of or preference for civil public employment; pardon for felonies previously committed; and exemption from certain civil laws, or, still more commonly, from certain religious laws, such as fasting or penance. The first two methods are still employed to a greater or less extent in all countries using the "voluntary" system; and also in countries with universal service, as to the permanent personnel of the army, for evidently all armies need some professionals. But, in general, some form of compulsion was employed. The usual rule was the *tirage à sort*, by which certain luckless men, drawn by lot from the whole population or a certain class thereof, were drafted into the service for their active life, unless they could hire a substitute. Putting "the war" for "their active life," this was the method pursued by the United States during the Civil War. With the possible exception of that extraordinary British variation, the press gang, this method is, alike on moral, economic, and military grounds, the most expensive, vicious, corrupt, and indefensible known means of raising armies.

Whatever the methods of recruiting employed, armies before 1789 were professional. The military career was all the career the soldier had. Some of these armies, such as that of Frederick the Great, were extremely efficient, but all of them had certain inherent disadvantages, some of which were: (*a*) It was difficult to increase in time of war the rate of recruiting used in time of peace. Consequently the wastage of war tended to decrease the available military personnel. If an opponent was in the same condition, this was, however, a minor matter. (*b*) The force employed in time of war was the same in size as that used in time of peace. Consequently either there was an expensive excess in time of peace or a fatal deficiency in time of war. If extra troops were raised in war, they had no training and there was no *cadre* to base them on, consequently it was some time before they were available. (*c*) The economic strain of maintaining a professional force was considerable. If the best elements of the population could be induced or compelled to accept the career, the economic strength of the nation was reduced; if only the worthless element entered the service, the army itself was poor. (*d*) As the soldier and civilian were permanently different persons, their interests tended to diverge. Either the soldier oppressed the civilian, as in certain parts of the Continent, or the civilian had a contempt for the soldier, which reduced the army's morale. (*e*) The patriotism and character aroused by disagreeable duty to the state well performed was confined to a numerically insignificant section of the population, and that by no means the most influential.

The first attempt to substitute an army

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recruited on purely moral grounds for professionals raised on more or less direct economic principles was made in England. It was entirely successful, but some incidental defects in it caused standing armies to be hated by English-speaking peoples ever since. The Puritan politicians of 1648 had no money to hire mercenaries. Furthermore, their principles forbade it. So they developed the notion that all saints—*i. e.*, all men of their own religious convictions—ought to serve in their army. The results were magnificent. The New Model was the best army which has ever fought anywhere under the English flag. The strength of England, externally and internally, was raised to a maximum. But the weakness of the whole scheme was that the saints were a minority. The interests of the Puritan civilian and the soldier were identical; but those of the Puritan soldier and the civilian-at-large were not only different, but, for reasons of religious conviction, wholly irreconcilable. The consequence was that when the majority got control, as it always will in the long run, the very name of standing army became, and has remained, anathema to the English people. The unfortunate part of the matter is that the wholly adventitious defects of the system have obscured its really glorious advantages.

The next attempt at substitution was made, not as a result of calm, theocratic reasoning, but under the influence of pure fear. When the 10th of August, 1792 (the attack on the Tuileries and massacre of the Swiss Guard), shook France, it shook all the other states, which promptly combined to attack France. Under the influence of patriotic excitement the French army was easily recruited to a large strength, but it soon became evident that the foreign professional, well trained, could defeat the new French volunteer, however patriotic, if the fight were on equal terms. So Danton and Carnot saw that it was necessary to raise a force overwhelming in numbers. They thereupon resorted to a *levée en masse*—that is, universal service—and they quickly gained a force so large that its numbers overcame its training. Incidentally it may be remarked that at the present time the technique of the profession of arms is so complex that this particular feat is now impossible.

The French conscripts won in defense, and they acquired valuable military training thereby. Then they fell under the hand of a military genius, and the French universal service army proceeded to conquer Europe. The puny armies of the Italian states and the Low Countries fell an easy prey, and then Napoleon attacked the great professional army of recent history. The Frederician troops of Prussia had been trained under a master hand; their discipline was nonpareil; they were the apotheosis of the professional army. And this army was simply crushed at Jena. As practically every Prussian who knew anything about soldiering was defeated at the same time, Prussia was not only conqured—it was mostly annexed.

The success of the French army concealed many of its defects. In the first place, it was enormously expensive. Everybody was drawn and all had to serve a long time. The burden of support was transferred to the subjugated states, but the economic loss due to the withdrawal of so many men could not be shifted. Later on, after selected men only were drawn, there was a certain element of the population which was untrained, and consequently was only a doubtful asset in war. One of the defenses of universal service is that soldiering increases a man's later economic usefulness. If the men who are taken are kept a long time and the young civilians at home never have served, this advantage does not appear. The notion of skeleton organizations, comprised of a few professionals and many youths in training expanded in war time by adding many men who have been trained, had not appeared.

But appear it did, and that shortly. A few Prussians, acting in the name of a sovereign they despised, developed the scheme practically in its present form. Napoleon had imposed a servitude upon Prussia, limiting the number of men in arms. This they got around by training the fixed number of men for short periods of time and then replacing them. When the hour of deliverance struck, hundreds of thousands of trained men were available and the master of the world was overthrown.

After the peace Prussia retained its system of universal service capable of expansion in war. The other states felt compelled to maintain larger armies than could be raised by purely economic methods, but they adhered to the *tirage à sort*. All of them introduced some kind of expanding reserve, but when the time came it did not come up to the expectations. If you call a man's military life twenty years and his active service seven, you have only $1\frac{6}{7}$ reservists for

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every man in ranks. If you make his active service two years, you have nine reservists for every man in ranks. Also it is much easier, economically and politically, to make every one serve two years than to serve seven. In fact, the latter course is impossible. So, if you have one man in five serve in the army, you will only have $\frac{1}{5}$ as many soldiers for the same population. Incidentally the army of limited conscription, like the voluntary army in peace, excludes by its very terms many of the most desirable elements of the population, and, moreover, ceases to be a mirror of the nation as a whole. Nevertheless a seven-year army may possibly be more efficient man for man, but in equally intellectual and well-organized states it cannot possibly be five times as efficient, provided that the service with the colors is long enough to give each man the rudiments of the trade, *and the moral status of a soldier.*

This statement does not rest on theory, but was tried out in the most practical manner in the world on the battlefields of Europe. In the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 and the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 the Prussians met and overthrew the two other great armies of Continental Europe. Both the defeated nations learned their lesson and promptly took over the ideas of Prussia, lock, stock, and barrel. Cavour had already adopted the system; partly, it must be admitted, with a view to unifying Italy. Russia has accepted the idea in so far as the inferior organization of the state and the low mentality of its peasantry permit, for the proper mobilization of reserves who served long ago requires an intelligent people in a well-organized community. In Japan the transformation from feudal forces to modern armies was immediate and complete. In that state alone feudalism fell at one blow, and a mercenary army never existed. The army by limited conscription is no more. Among great states only Great Britain and the United States retain the voluntary system.

Let us stop and consider the voluntary system, first as a measure effective in war, and then as a measure to be used only in peace. A war cannot be waged nowadays against public sentiment. Presuming that the Nation desires the war, or that the foe is on our soil, the first effect of war in a voluntary system is a great rush to the recruiting stations. These men of the first rush are generally young—normally too young, as the death toll of concentration camps shows. They are of three classes: (*a*) those drawn by adventure; (*b*) those drawn by patriotism; (*c*) members of the floating population thrown out of work by the normal dislocation attending an outbreak of hostilities. Members of class (*b*) predominated in 1861, and they are the most naturally fit recruits. Members of class (*a*) are better than those of class (*c*), but have a tendency to wildness often very difficult to control. As there are never enough trained officers, a species of sorting has to be gone through before any kind of moral confidence in their superiors exists in the men's breasts. Before the troops are organized the rush is likely to have stopped. Then comes what may fitly be called the "sob sister stage." Young men of an emotional nature are, at great expense, mesmerized into volunteering. Sober, patriotic men of family, who belong in the very last line, deem it their duty to go. The law of supply and demand gets in its work, and bounties, increases of pay, separation allowances, and every possible manner of financial temptation are offered the recruit. Finally it becomes evident that the risk and discomforts of soldiering are too great to be overcome by any conceivable economic inducements. And as for patriotic reasons, A, who has children, says he will go if B, who has none, goes. B points with derision to C, a lazy bachelor. C says if the government wants him it can come and get him, and so on. Finally the draft is resorted to, either honestly, as in the South, or dishonestly, as in the North. In any case, the voluntary system eventually fails in every serious, prolonged war.

Let us examine what happens to the nation all this time. The undersized army of professionals has done its best and been driven from the field. The first levies, untrained and badly led, have been annihilated. Finally, after a long interval, the nation is either vanquished or, having resorted to the draft, emerges from the conflict with a terrible debt and a still more terrible death list, to be a permanent burden upon an innocent posterity. In either case, what possible benefit has the nation derived from the voluntary system? What moral, economic, political, or military use has it been to the community?

But, say some, let us resort to honest compulsion in war; but let us keep our present "voluntary" system of economic compulsion in peace. If we never have any serious war, there is nothing to be said against this. In peace an army has only to control the small aggressively irreconcilable minority and to

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come to the rescue in time of disaster. For these purposes a small army suffices and a professional army is actually the best. But in modern war the shock is sudden. The ground gained at the first blow is easily held against untrained opponents. Enormous damage can be done a nation in the interim. The delay will be long. Modern armies cannot be improvised. Their tactical and strategical handling requires a staff of men as technically educated as are physicians. The leadership of masses of men requires psychological qualities which can be acquired only by experience. The *matériel* is expensive and great skill must be employed in its handling. The din and nerve wear of fighting are so great that only by intensive physical and moral preparation can men be trained to bear it. The elements of the command must be so attuned by habits of obedience that the troop-leading staff can play on them as on the keys of a piano. All this takes time. And if all these lessons are to be learned by experience much money and many precious lives will be wasted. Even this wastage may not be enough. One great nation found in 1870 that the most determined energy, the most whole-souled patriotism, could not undo the effects of a faulty system before the war. Go view the crape on the statue of Strassburg.

In order to exhaust all possible alternatives we may discuss the theory of maintaining by the voluntary system enough troops, or enough troops and trained reserves, to accomplish all the *defensive* ends of the nation. The scope of this article forbids the analysis in detail of this scheme as applied to any particular case. Suffice it to say that as armies grow in size the pay of the soldier must be increased to fill them, and the point where any reasonable expenditures can no longer supply the men is soon reached. The army would exist only on paper. Were such a force indeed raised, with interests not convergent at all with the population, but utterly divergent, militarism would be here upon us.

So far this question has been considered on military grounds alone. Let us examine the so-called moral advantages of the "voluntary" system:

1. "No man is compelled to serve. All men are given free choice of their profession." This is nonsense. The number of men who serve for love of adventure, for love of travel, or for patriotic reasons is inconsiderable. The number who honestly like the trade is greater. Indeed, at times our army has been almost filled with such men. But their number is small, and as luxury increases it tends to diminish. The real numerical strength of the army is in men who enlist for a "square meal." They are recruited in great numbers during hard times, and held rigidly to their bargain when times grow better. To call them volunteers is a plain misuse of language.

2. "The volunteer is better than the pressed man." Pressed man! Call him better member of the nation, serving in compliance with the national policy. Of all fallacies this has been oftenest exploded. Marengo, Jena, Austerlitz, Arcis-sur-Aube, Chancellorsville, Sadowa, Sedan! The list may be prolonged indefinitely. On every field in history the willing conscript has proved himself the equal of any man.

3. "A voluntary army does not tend to create a militarist nation." Does it not? Were the Scotch Archers of Louis XI conscripts? Which is more truly responsive to the nation, a force of professionals or a body of young men temporarily under discipline living in a population all of whom have run the same gauntlet? The statement is its own reply.

The moral and political disadvantages of universal service are summed up by its opponents in three adjectives—expensive, undemocratic, un-American. The expense is composed of two elements, the direct cost of maintenance and the indirect loss due to the withdrawal of many men from economic usefulness. It is true that an army is expensive, but a universal service army is enormously less expensive than a voluntary force of the same size and efficiency or one of less size and equivalent efficiency. Whether the insurance is worth the money is a question to be decided by the electorate, after a consideration of all the facts in the case. But on the matter of indirect cost the economists are mostly agreed the other way. In a very few learned professions and in a few of the arts the delay of one or two years in starting one's life-work may simply mean one or two years' less productive life. But as to the population in general, the now accepted view is that the two years' discipline and training increase the man's usefulness sufficiently not only to overcome the period of economic idleness, but also to pay the expenses of the army. This is a fact not easily proved, but it is indicated by the ubiquity of the "Made in Germany" label and by the rise of Japan.

Undemocratic a universal service army

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certainly is not. What could be more democratic than a force in which the rich man peels potatoes in the company kitchen and the well-set-up corporal from the farm drills the wealthy broker's son? And what possible menace to a nation can there be in a force composed entirely of all its own youth, a veritable mirror of the people?

Un-American! That word, which no one can define, is alike the joy of the pacifist and the *bête-noir* of the true reformer. If it is un-American to follow the advice of Washington and "in time of peace prepare for war;" if it is un-American to follow the advice of Lincoln and arm our country's manhood for our country's sake; if it is un-American to adopt the only method of defense which history has shown to be reliable, then, and then only, is universal service un-American.

For a professional to endeavor to apply the theory to the facts and to discuss the basis upon which universal service can be adopted in America is at this time improper. Indeed, it is unwise. In the end the question must be decided by the electorate. All that this article has tried to do is, by an analysis of certain historical incidents, to lift the fog of Cimmerian verbiage which has beclouded the vision of the puzzled citizen of this country.

THE MOON AND THE HIGH COST OF LIVING

BY LEWIS EDWIN THEISS

SOMETIMES I am inclined to think that Shakespeare was in error, and that Hamlet, far from being the Prince of Denmark, was only a country yokel. Certainly his dialogue with Horatio concerning the supernatural (the things in heaven and earth that were not dreamed of in Horatio's philosophy) has all the earmarks of a bucolic conversation—at least of conversations such as one constantly hears in the State of Pennsylvania.

We smile when we think of the witchcraft days in old Salem. The fact is, we are still living in those days. Not only do our country folk believe in signs and portents and omens, but trials for witchcraft are of not infrequent occurrence in this same State of Pennsylvania. And the people who place faith in these things supernatural are not benighted mountaineers like the hill folk of Kentucky, or hookworm victims like some of the "poor white trash" of the South, but sturdy farmers in a commonwealth that is reckoned as both prosperous and progressive.

I used to read newspaper despatches concerning the superstitious beliefs of these people and smile at what I regarded as the "vivid imagination" of the correspondents. But when I came among them I found that the correspondents, far from drawing the long bow, had hardly told the whole truth. We had acquired a few acres on which to pass the summers, and gardening became not only a diversion, but a prime necessity. For years I had lived in New York City and fingered a typewriter, and my knowledge of vegetable-growing was absolutely nil. Of course we got some books on gardening, but we lost no opportunity of talking to the neighbors about vegetable-raising. Distinctly I can recall the shock that came to me when one of them said, "You had better get your beans in. You have only two days left to plant them."

With an entire summer apparently before me, this was surprising.

"Only two days!" I replied. "What do you mean?"

"The moon will point up for two days yet," was the reply, "and you'll have to get them in while it does or they won't come up."

Some days later we were planting cucumber seeds. Another neighbor came along and leaned over the fence to watch us.

"It's too early to plant cucumbers," said she. "The 21st day of June is the day to plant cucumbers."

"Why?" we asked.

"Because that's the longest day of the year, and you'll get long cucumbers."

In the kitchen floor of the house are some worm-eaten boards. "I wonder why those boards are in such bad shape?" I remarked, casually, to the former owner of the place.

"The timber was cut in the wrong time of the moon," he explained.

One February I secured some cherry

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scions from a neighbor for grafting on some seedling stock. My knowledge of grafting was even less than my acquaintance with gardening.

"When shall I graft these?" I inquired.

"In the dark of the moon of March," was the reply.

That was several years ago, and during the interim we have set out some hundreds of fruit trees and affixed scores of grafts. The grafting has been done at various times and under differing circumstances, and a record has been kept of it all. So we have some authentic data to go by. On the 30th of April of this year I met the man who gave me the cherry grafts.

"How late in the year is it possible to graft successfully?" I asked him.

"Oh, as late as three or four days after the dark of the moon in March," he said.

"Can't you graft later than that?"

"No; you must do it then."

Of all the grafts I have ever made not one has been made before April. May 1, the day after this conversation, I grafted an apple tree. The graft is alive and growing.

In the autumn of our first season here there were many apples on the trees. We did not know when to pick them. I went to a neighbor.

"When shall I pick my winter apples?" I inquired.

"In October, in the dark of the moon," he replied.

In the almanacs that patent-medicine makers publish for free distribution you will sometimes find a little square set down beside the sign of a planet. The marking means that the planet indicated is in quadrature with the sun. To these country folk it stands for "an ice-box," which means that the day marked will have killing frosts, be that day the 4th of July or any other day. On a certain day "Mary goes over the mountain." If it rains that day, it will infallibly rain for forty succeeding days. If one goes away from home and becomes homesick, one sews a little sack of salt to the petticoat or coat-tail and the homesickness disappears. If hogs are slaughtered when the moon is decreasing, the pork will shrivel up in cooking. Hence in Pennsylvania butcherings always occur on the increase of the moon. And horse-chestnuts are carried in the pockets to relieve rheumatism. Truly, there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamed of in the average man's philosophy.

But perhaps you wonder what the moon, potent in the affairs of men though it be, has to do with the high cost of living. Perhaps you think there is no connection. So did I until our holdings increased from the three acres that gave us our summer's liberty to the dimensions of a full-sized farm. By that time we had mastered gardening. Now we set out to conquer farming. With the aid of standard texts and State and National agricultural bulletins, we attacked the problem vigorously. We found that farming is, or should be, almost an exact science. We found it as much of a business as selling jewelry or cheese. We discovered that it is as truly a manufacturing process as making steel or floor coverings. But when we attempted to apply some of the things we had so laboriously learned we ran straight into the moon.

One spring we decided to put out a quantity of potatoes. The season was too wet for successful planting; but finally there came a time when things seemed favorable. It was the first of the week. We suggested to the farmer that the potatoes should go in.

"Friday's the day to plant potatoes," he replied.

So a week was lost, and Friday was a bad planting day, but in they went just the same. The weather continued bad, and the result was half a crop. The favorable week that had been wasted might have made a big difference.

When a patch of land was to go into buckwheat, I said, "Be sure to get it in in time."

"Oh, that'll be all right. I always sow buckwheat on the 'Seven Sleepers,'" was the reply.

I haven't yet found out what the "Seven Sleepers" are, though I have a suspicion that the term may refer to the Pleiades; but the day proved to be June 27.

We gave the farmer's wife some seeds for her garden. "If you sow these now," we suggested, "you will have some early vegetables."

"It's a little too early," was her reply. "We always have our luck in the sign of the twins."

Thus one might multiply illustrations endlessly. The point of the entire matter is that the old-fashioned farmer—and he is still vastly in the majority—is so beset with fears and superstitions, so held in the bondage of custom and authority, that he cannot take advantage of the opportunities that lie at his hand. He does not think, he will not reason, he refuses

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to be exact, he does things a certain way because that is the way he learned to do them as a boy. Hence his mind is impervious to new and beneficial ideas. His mental attitude prevents the very success he works so hard physically to win.

Any one can see at a glance that a cow which does not give enough milk to pay for its feed makes the farmer poorer instead of richer. Yet the old-fashioned farmer will not take the trouble to weigh or measure separately the milk from each cow. Hens that eat food worth more than the eggs they give in return are a losing proposition. Yet few farmers take the trouble to find out which hens lay and which do not. The farmer who plants by signs also buys fertilizer by the brand, not knowing what is in it and not caring. He buys seed without knowing what he is getting. He cannot tell you the name of his potatoes or of his oats.

Speaking of oats reminds me that, in studying this grain, we found that there is a great difference in the weight of different varieties of oats. In Pennsylvania it is important to know whether your oats are heavy or light, for we have to sell by weight. I found some seed that looked good. Before buying any I took a sample to the local mill.

"They're pretty light," said the miller.

I went back to the farm. "Have you any idea how these oats run in weight?" I asked the farmer.

"Heavy," said he. "They'll run thirty-eight pounds to the bushel."

"How do you know?"

"Oh, I carry them down to my horse a half-bushel at a time. I can tell."

We got some scales and weighed a bushel. The weight was thirty-two and one-half pounds—barely heavy enough to be legal.

All this is bad enough, but it is not the worst. The mind that gives signs precedence over facts, that guesses at important things instead of taking the trouble to learn the truth, often seems incapable of grasping even the most elementary facts—even when those facts have a direct bearing on the size of the pocketbook.

I noticed that a certain farmer had too little corn to carry his cattle through the winter. "Aren't you going to run short of fodder?" I said to him one day.

"Oh, that won't make any difference," he said with a laugh. "You know how we farmers do. If we have plenty, we feed it liberal; if we don't, we chop it." (Meaning thereby that they shred it to make it go further.)

"But wouldn't it be better," I inquired, "to find out what you need and raise it? Then you'll always have plenty."

He looked at me pityingly, as though I were a little weak mentally.

"Of course there is a certain amount of corn stover necessary to keep your cows at their maximum producing condition," I said. "What is that?"

He did not know.

"Well, how much corn fodder do you feed your cows a day?"

He did not know.

"How much do you feed one cow?"

He did not know.

I became interested to learn whether or not he knew anything about what he was doing. I talked to him for half an hour. After I had asked him fifty questions he guessed that he might feed one cow ninety corn-stalks a day. We multiplied ninety by the number of days in the indoor feeding period. So we approximated the number of stalks he thought necessary to supply one cow during the winter.

"Now how many stalks do you raise to the acre?" I asked.

He stared at me blankly. He did not know.

"How many does the average farmer raise?"

He did not know.

So it went. He knew nothing about the very thing he was depending upon for his bread and butter—particularly the latter.

I saw another farmer shelling corn for planting. "How does your seed test out?" I asked.

"Oh, it's good seed," he said.

"How do you test it?" I asked.

"Test it!" he repeated. "I don't have to test it. I can tell when it will grow."

That was interesting, because most farmers and all agricultural experts have to test their corn before they can tell whether or not it will grow. So I asked him, "How can you tell?"

"I twist the ear," was the reply, "and if it's firm and won't give, the corn will grow all right."

I ventured to remonstrate with him, telling him of the Government method of testing corn.

"Pooh!" he rejoined. "What do them fellers at Washington know about farming?

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They raise a few seeds on a little patch of ground, and then tell you how to do it on a ten-acre field. I know more about corn-raisin' than Uncle Sam."

When it comes to men such as these, who, having eyes, see not, and having ears, hear not, what can one do? A friend of mine refers to such men as persons of "granitic mind." I think he might even have used the term adamantine and still have been within the truth. There seems to be no way of educating them out of their settled ideas. The State and National governments spend millions of dollars to help the farmers. Assistance is on tap at the State and National capitals; but the "granitic-minded" man will not open the tap or let any one else open it for him. The country newspapers are doing their best to educate the farmer, but their work is distressingly slow. The farmer reads—sometimes—but heeds not.

I know of one farmer who raises asparagus. He has an old-fashioned strain in an old-time bed. It takes thirty or forty stalks to make a bunch, and his product is worth twenty-five cents for three bunches. A neighbor plowed up his old patch, similar to this man's, and raised a new variety. He got twenty-five cents a bunch, and it took only a few stalks to make a bunch. He advised his neighbor to go and do likewise.

"Plow this up?" said the "granitic-minded" one. "No, siree! An asparagus bed's good for thirty years, and this bed has eight years to run yet."

Everybody is familiar with that moth-eaten story of the farmer who, after critically viewing the giraffe at the circus, finally said: "There ain't no such animal."

The man who devised that story meant it for a joke. The fact is, it is tragic, and the tragedy lies in its truth. That farmer actually exists. He came with other farmers to assist at a threshing last summer. At dinner the talk turned to alfalfa.

"You can't raise alfalfa in this part of the country," said that man.

"Why, I raised some and cut it three times," said one farmer.

"I don't care," rejoined the man; "it can't be raised here."

Yet within two miles of that man's farm were several flourishing fields of it.

This old-fashioned farmer—and bear in mind that, though our agricultural schools minister to thousands of new-style farmers, the latter are still relatively as rare as college-bred men in the general mass of humanity—this old-style farmer acquired his ideas in youth from a father who was no farmer at all, but a soil robber; and these ideas have set as hard as plaster of paris. Distinctly he is of the dead past. If only we could bury his superstitions with that dead past, we should profit hugely.

But there's the rub. We cannot. He has large families, and it is a case of like father like sons. On every hand I hear children of eight, ten, twelve, or fifteen years talking about "planting in the sign of the Virgin," or the folly of "making fence when the moon points up, because the posts won't stay in the ground," and so on. The Roman Catholics have a saying that if you give them a child until it is nine years old they care not who has the child's religious training thereafter. That is sound sense. The characters of most children are formed long before their parents realize that their children have acquired even the elements of character. So the superstitions implanted in these youthful minds will last for at least another generation.

Do you ask what the public schools are doing? The little red school-house on the hill, the hope of the Nation, might more aptly be termed the joke of the Nation. I know this sounds like heresy; but let us look at the facts. The law in Pennsylvania, which is proud of its school system, requires twenty-eight weeks' schooling a year in these schools. The teachers receive as much as $350 or $400 a year—in some places more. In the nearest district school there were during the past winter twenty-two students, and they ranged in age from six years to sixteen. The teacher has to teach everything from A B C up to branches admitting to high school. How does she do it? Well, she has each class recite perhaps twice, or even three times, a week. She has not time for more frequent recitations. As for studies pertaining to farm work—things of practical value to farm boys and girls—they are usually as far away from these district-school curricula as are courses in Sanskrit or studies in numismatics. So the child gets no agricultural enlightenment at school. If he learns how to read and write and how to figure sufficiently well to tell what three dozen eggs are worth, he has acquired about all that he can get.

Recently a man I know went to teach temporarily in one of these schools. A sixteen-year-old boy did not know how many made a

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dozen. "But you sell eggs by the dozen, don't you?" asked the teacher.

"Sure," said the farm lad.

"Well, how do you know when you have a dozen in your basket?"

"I take three eggs in each hand, and do it twice, and that's a dozen."

"But how many eggs does that make?"

"I don't know," he said. And he had been attending the district school since early childhood!

As for the country school boy's knowledge of farming—his preparation for his life-work—he gets that wholly from his ignorant father.

I have said enough to indicate the mental capacity of the men under discussion, but one thing more comes into my mind that ought to be set down. I asked a neighbor what he thought of the district school and the teacher.

"The teacher ain't any good," he replied. "She can't teach more than one class at a time, and the boys don't have lessons more than twice a week."

When I expressed astonishment at his idea of a teacher's capacity, he said: "Why, that's nothin'! This teacher has only twenty-two pupils. Where I used to live the teacher had sixty, and she taught two classes at once!"

And these are the men who ultimately decide upon the amount of taxes, the scale of salaries, the school curricula.

But what has all this to do with the high cost of living? you still inquire. Simply this: In the long run we have to pay these men a living wage; and it is always an expensive thing to hire an inefficient person. In every part of the country men are raising one hundred bushels of shelled corn to the acre. Yet the average production for the country is about twenty-six bushels. We have farmers who raise thirty to fifty bushels of wheat, but the average is perhaps fifteen or sixteen—I forget the exact figures. In other words, we have to pay high prices for food when, if all the farmers were efficient, food would be so abundant that it would be much cheaper, and yet the producers would earn more. It takes just as much labor to raise seventy-five bushels of potatoes on an acre as it does to produce one hundred and fifty bushels. The extra production comes from the use of the mind instead of the legs and arms. And that is where the old-time farmer is weak. His strength ends at the collar line.

Perhaps all this sounds pessimistic. It is not. Slowly—very slowly—there is betterment. I suppose there is nothing that will remain waterproof forever; and the human mind cannot eternally remain impervious to progressive ideas. So, though they may not realize it, the old-timers are very, very slowly emerging into the light of reason. Just now we are going through a transitional period. The old soil robber is gone, leaving us with depleted lands. The new-style farmer must build these up again, and he will do it. But he is a long time coming.

The newspapers keep pounding away, and ideas do penetrate even into "granitic minds." But there is one place in which newspapers might help where actually they offset much that they try to do. That is in the matter of educating the people out of their superstitions. When I used to read in my New York paper about the hedgehog seeing his shadow and the like, I smiled, as one smiles at a pretty fairy tale. But I smile no longer. These simple-minded country folk take it for Gospel truth. And the very fact that they see it in print makes the thing more credible. The advertising of goosebone weather prophecies and of all the various superstitions that get into the papers merely goes to deepen the thrall of these idle beliefs. The newspapers ought to stop printing such stuff. They ought to tell the truth about these things, if they do print them. That would help immensely.

Always it seems hard for the human mind to accept the bald truth. But the truth is what the farmer needs. The truth, and that alone, shall set him free. We want efficiency on the farm just as much as we need it in the factory. Efficiency is only a recognition of truth and the acceptance of the truth that is recognized. So we must teach the farmer the truth—the truth, not only about corn and wheat and soil, but about the things in heaven and earth that are not dreamed of in his philosophy. And, above all, if we would lessen living costs by increasing farming efficiency, we must get rid of the moon. It is one of the greatest obstacles in the way of agricultural efficiency.

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THE READER'S VIEW

"UNFORTUNATE ILLUSTRATIONS"

The interesting letter of Mr. H. C. McKenzie on "Quakers and Preparedness," in your issue of July 19, has had a careful reading.

That part of it referring to the Pennsylvania Quaker colonists having Scotch and Scotch-Irish settlers to fight the Indians for them was shown to President Sharpless, of Haverford College, a recognized authority on the history of his native State.

He says, in reply: "The *unfortunate* part of the inclosed [H. C. McKenzie's letter] is that the province was quite peaceful until the Presbyterians got to the frontier, when troubles began. There was but little Scotch-Irish immigration until 1740, and it was strongest some ten years later. Up to this time there was perfect peace with the Indians."

For the truth about the Paxtang incident he refers us to his own book, "A History of Quaker Government in Pennsylvania," Volume II, pages 42–47, of which a few paragraphs only will be quoted here.

Speaking of the entrance of the Paxton boys, as they were called, into Philadelphia, he says: "They had apparently expected aid from their coreligionists in the city, but the affair partook too much of the nature of a riot and rebellion to command much sympathy from property-owners. . . . On the 6th the citizens were still under arms, but the Governor sent a committee, including Franklin, whose conduct during the whole proceeding met with the highest approval of the Friends to arrange terms of peace. . . . The matter ended as a farce, without the loss of a drop of blood."

But, as Mr. McKenzie does not perhaps know, some of the young Quakers who did take up arms against the Paxton rioters were severely dealt with by a committee of their older Friends, who patiently tried to bring them back to the "ancient testimony" for peace, even though, as President Sharpless points out, "it might be considered simply as police duty to stand between the rioters and their victims."

Even a superficial study of Quaker history is convincing proof that, as a body of citizens, they have not been accustomed to ask others to do for them what they felt it wrong to do for themselves.

Many a young man in England to-day is suffering patiently the results of a steadfast following out of the principle of non-resistance. A private letter from one such tells of the sympathy shown him by the officers whose duty it was to force him to bear arms if they could. Others are risking their lives as truly as any soldiers on the field to relieve the suffering of war victims.

Now as to the missionaries: Of course we all remember the brave souls who laid down their lives in the Boxer uprising, and who were said to have done more to bring Christ's kingdom to China by their refusal to depend on armed force than years of preaching and teaching could have done. But were they not few compared to the many missionaries who have gone where soldiers could not—who, strong in the power of the Prince of Peace, have lived safely and carried on their work where the power of the sword would have failed to establish them?

Truly we need to look carefully to our illustrations, *lest they be "unfortunate"!*

Wilmington, Delaware. F. T. R.

VACATIONS FOR WORKING-GIRLS

Owing to the long and continued heat a large number of girls working in the shops and factories have broken down and have applied to the Working-Girls' Vacation Society for a rest and change to enable them to continue their work. The Society's funds are exhausted, and unless its friends will help, these girls will be unable to have a much-needed vacation.

Who will help these tired working-girls? Forty dollars will pay board, traveling expenses, and medical care for a month at Santa Clara for a girl with a tubercular tendency; ten dollars will pay board for two weeks, also traveling expenses. Contributions large and small may be sent to the treasurer, Miss Edith Bryce, at the office of the Society, 105 E. Twenty-second Street, New York City, and will be gratefully acknowledged.

BACKBONE NEEDED

Let me extend my hand across the continent and give you a hearty shake in appreciation of your praiseworthy position on the war questions in general and several extra special shakes for your splendid editorial, "The Deutschland and the Lusitania," in particular.

It is said that the Rev. Charles H. Spurgeon once asked, "Why did the lions not eat Daniel when he was cast into the lions' den?" The man of whom he asked the question said that he gave it up. Spurgeon replied, "Because he was principally backbone and the rest of him grit." If that was the reason, I am strongly inclined to believe that the lions would have "a high old time" if some of our fellow-citizens—even some who sit in the seats of rulers—were thrown into the lions' den.

However this may be, I am glad to observe that you still have the ability to discern between right and wrong, and that you have the courage to speak up like men. Those are God-given qualities, and altogether worthy of cultivation.

JAMES E. ENMAN,
Pastor of the East Congregational Church.
Los Angeles, California.

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BY THE WAY

Seventy years ago Edward Everett Hale, in advance of his time, worked for the betterment of prison conditions. When he preached to prisoners, says the Rev. Calvin Stebbins in the "Christian Register," he addressed them as "my brethren," never giving them occasion to feel that there was anything peculiar in their situation to separate the preacher from his congregation.

Fireweed, otherwise known as the "great willow-herb," seems to have been created as an antidote for one of the ugliest sights a landscape may offer—burnt-over ground. So states a writer in the "National Geographic Magazine," and adds that it takes to the fallow field and the dry roadside only when it cannot find a burnt district to cover. The fireweed is a genuine cosmopolite, for it sends its consoling shaft above the ashes of burnt forests not only throughout America but in Europe and Asia.

"I have hunted wolves as a business for over thirteen years and never had a close shot at a wolf before." So says a South Dakota "wolver" in the "National Sportsman," after confessing that he missed this one chance of his career. Though bewailing his bad luck in this case, the hunter was consoled by finding seven pup wolves in the den from which the cunning mother wolf successfully escaped.

The popular line in new Government offices in London, a correspondent of "Office Appliances" says, is the up-to-date hotel. "Big hotel after big hotel is being taken over by the authorities, cleared out of its ordinary staff and guests, and promptly filled up with enormous numbers of clerks, stenographers, etc. . . . With every extension of this kind come increasing orders for all the newest ideas in the way of office equipment. The Government has dropped all its old conservative ideas in these matters."

The "daylight saving" act, according to the above authority, meets with the general approval of the British public. "The main argument in its favor arises from the beneficial effects of increased time for outdoor recreation on the efficiency of both employers and staffs."

An exchange describes an ingenious home-made trap for animals. Take a five-gallon gasoline can and cut the top from corner to corner, then bend the sharp edges inward so that the animal can bend them still farther in to get at the bait. The sharp edges of the tin cover will act like barbs when the creature tries to withdraw its head. This sounds like cruelty to animals, but what trap has feelings?

The iconoclastic hand of the editor of "The Dramatist" reaches forth in the current number to smite "The Merry Wives of Windsor." "As a curio of the comedy that entertained the real Shakespeare audience it may be a truer specimen," says the critic, "than any of the better plays attributed to this great poet. For it gave less temptation to the literary retouchers who have hopelessly distorted the more pretentious plays. And is it fair for these undramatic gentlemen to center all their censure on Charlie Chaplin while knockabout stuff like this is extolled to the skies?"

The "poet out at elbows" will cheer up as he reads this advertisement in the "Popular Science Monthly:" "Write Short Stories, Poems, Photoplays: $100 each. No correspondence course. Details free. Address," etc.

Our highest genius, says Meredith Nicholson in the August "Atlantic," is employed in commerce and business rather than in politics. Why? The answer is worth pondering: "It's because the average American would rather be president of the Pennsylvania Railroad than of the United States." But possibly the average American is modest, and thinks that managing the country is too big a job for him, though he *might* run a railroad.

Last winter, the French authorities imported from Alaska and Canada several hundred trained dogs for drawing sleds in the Vosges Mountains. They proved so useful that they have been employed during the summer in similar work, though they now draw the sleds on small railways. Eleven dogs with a couple of men can haul a load of a ton up some of the most precipitous slopes in the mountains, according to the "Railway Age Gazette." The Alaskan dog is the best, it is stated. His courage never fails, and he will work till he drops.

"You must remember, my boy, that wealth does not bring happiness." "I don't expect it to," replied the boy, according to the Boston "Traveler." "I merely want it so that I may be able to choose the kind of misery that is most agreeable to me."

A correspondent from Tufts College sends a few more "howlers from the vintage of June, 1916:" "Suleman raised the Turks to the highest point of posterity." "Switzerland is divided into ten cantos." "Cromwell was the first to bring about the removal of the king's absolution."

A singular typographical error occurred in an advertisement recently published in the New York "Sun" by the Cloak, Suit, and Skirt Manufacturers Protective Association. Referring to a proposed agreement with the striking employees, the advertisement read: "If, by Wednesday morning, August 2nd, the Union shall not have recognized the agreement as *mad*," etc., instead of *made*. And while we are speaking of errors, we may as well confess that a note on this page recently referred to *Stephen* Taylor Coleridge when *Samuel* was meant. The one consolation for such errors is the reflection that their discovery usually gives the alert reader who detects them a comfortable feeling of superiority.

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